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'Observers Roundtable' on UN General Assembly

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["International Observers Roundtable" program with Radomir Georgiyevich Bogdanov, director of the Institute of the United States and Canada and professor of historical sciences; Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, political observer; and Viktor Nikolayevich Levin, all-union radio commentator]

[Text] [Levin] Hello, esteemed comrades. In the course of the general political discussion at this week's session of the UN General Assembly, speeches were made by many highly-placed representatives of various states. President Reagan spoke, as did many foreign ministers, including our own foreign minister, Comrade Shevardnadze. Judging from the assessments that have reached us from New York, his address aroused great interest, and it was noted that his address was imbued with a new spirit, the spirit of the new political thinking which is a feature of Soviet foreign policy.

[Shishlin] But, Viktor Nikolayevich, we must tell our listeners that President Reagan's speech was rather unusual, too. In general, one can say almost without reservation that it was a fairly constructive speech. For the first time, Reagan gave the United Nations and its peacekeeping efforts their due. He spoke quite optimistically of the possibility of intensifying Soviet-American dialogue. The President's speech also contained the useful idea of a meeting of the states that signed the 1925 convention banning chemical weapons, to put an end to the proliferation of such weapons and, even more, to their use. It's true, of course, that a number of the things he said were of the kind that is more or less traditional for an American President. But the fact is that both our foreign minister and the American President spoke in the key of constructive dialogue; this is very much a feature of the current UN General Assembly session.

[Bogdanov] As Nikolay Vladimirovich mentioned Reagan's speech, there's a detail in which our listeners will probably be interested. According to—if I'm not mistaken—ASSOCIATED PRESS, the Soviet delegation applauded President Reagan's speech for the first time in many years. That did not go unnoticed. And another thing that will probably interest our listeners is that in 1982 or 1983—I do not remember exactly, but it doesn't much matter—the President said with great pride: Everything is changing in this world, except me; I stick to the old principles. And if we remember the President's attitude toward the United Nations during his first term in office and, indeed, the whole attitude of the Americans when they portrayed the United Nations almost as a communist conspiracy on U.S. territory and closed the channels of financial support—an action clearly aimed at taking the United Nations in hand a little bit, putting it in its place, and possibly even suffocating it—and compare that with the present situation, in which U.S. debts are being paid off, then, yes, everything in this world is changing; and this is a very hopeful, very encouraging factor.

[Shishlin] Yes, including the U.S. President, who has only a few more months in the White House. But be that as it may, in any case this UN General Assembly session has turned out to be notable for its constructive spirit. It has also been rich in ideas, more so because in the framework of this session not only has there been a Soviet- U.S. dialogue in progress, there has also been really intensive international dialogue. What I have in mind primarily, of course, are the meetings held by Eduard Amvrosiyevich in New York with his colleagues from the socialist countries and other states, such as Japan and Western European countries. And in each case, one gathers that these were not protocol meetings, but meetings at which there was real discussion of the vital problems of strengthening international security and developing those positive trends that were already so cleary evident last year, and which this year, of course, are taking on a certain dynamism and even, I would say, developing their own inertia, in a good sense.

[Bogdanov] Because you have broached this subject, let me make a very frank comment. You know, I have worked with you more than once, and quite honestly, this subject of the United Nations has always put me a little bit on my guard. You mentioned, Nikolay Vladimirovich, the aspect of protocol. And really, a process has been going on before our very eyes, in which this giant—the only universal international organization we have—has been turning into some sort of protocol jamboree, or else a place where nothing but confrontation took place and there was nothing to read or see but mutual accusations. And suddenly, there is an end to that process. The thing you have been talking about has revealed itself; not just a positive tendency, but a tendency toward the revival of that organization and its transformation into a truly universal tool for settling the problems of peace and security, as well as all other problems. Look how interesting the speeches in the General Assembly have become. Whereas before—if you will forgive my saying so—they were boring to read, because one knew in advance what they would contain. Now those speeches represent highly interesting political dialogues; they're not just speeches, but political dialogues. The USSR foreign minister's speech is a case in point. I had the good fortune to take part in a practical-science conference at the USSR Foreign Ministry, where I spent nearly 4 hours listening to Eduard Amvrosiyevich's speech.

[Levin] Three hours.

[Bogdanov] Three hours, sorry. Three hours. You were also at that conference.

[Levin] Yes.

[Bogdanov] It was extraordinarily interesting. It was very unusual.

[Levin] It has now been published.

[Bogdanov] It has been published. But you know, Viktor Nikolayevich, it is one thing to read the text, and quite another thing to see the speaker, see his eyes and his emotion. I want to say his speech made a very deep impression on me personally. I think it is one of his best speeches. I say nothing about its form—the form is very beautiful—but its content is something completely new. It is a new stage in public, practical, and political diplomacy, if I may so express it. You need only look at the completely new way in which the issues are presented. For example, I am very excited by the way in which he singled out the ecological problem; this made the very deepest impression on me. This is an independent problem which has come to be treated on a par with the problem of averting nuclear war and stopping the nuclear arms race; and justifiably so. We talk a great deal about the problems common to all mankind which today form the basis of the cooperation of our civilization. This is the first time, however, that the issue has been presented in this way: that ecology is equal in significance—and most importantly, in terms of the disastrous consequences—to nuclear war.

[Shishlin] I share that point of view absolutely, and of course a great many interesting thoughts and arguments have been expressed from the UN General Assembly rostrom. Some of the ideas I would describe as audacious.

[Bogdanov] Quite right, audacious.

[Levin] Unconventional.

[Shishlin] And particularly regarding sovereignty. Well, you know how anxious we are about our own sovereignty and how we speak of the need to strictly respect the sovereignty of other states. Yet when it is a matter of protecting universal human values and defending universal human interests, it can only be achieved if it is understood that that sovereignty will be closely contiguous with the sovereignty of other states. If you like, a portion of sovereignty will even be delegated to the world community.

And returning to the point about the greater role of the United Nations the Nobel Peace Prize awarded to the UN's armed peacekeeping force is undoubtedly a reflection of that fact.

[Levin] This is a very interesting point, and the Nobel Committee itself and its chairman, Egil Aarvik, a member of the Norwegian Storting, has actually said: We have taken into account the role that the United Nations as a whole is now playing. While we are on this topic, I would like to remind listeners of one or two facts. Presently, there are seven groups of UN armed forces operating in the world. Some of them we have perhaps partially forgotten, such as the group of UN military observers in India and Pakistan; it was formed as long ago as January 1949 to observe the cease-fire in Kashmir in accordance with an agreement signed between India and Pakistan in Karachi. There is the provisional UN force in Lebanon; a UN force observing the separation, set up for the purpose of observing the cease-fire between Israel and Syria; the UN peace force in Cyprus; the UN body observing the truce conditions in Palestine; the goodwill mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan; and finally the group of UN military observers in Iran and Iraq. To that I would add that the mission of the Blue Helmets, as the UN armed forces are known, is a very difficult one and, by no means, without danger. In the years since these UN units have been in existence, 550 men have been lost.

[Bogdanov] And do you know a single case, Viktor Nikolayevich, of the Blue Helmmets shooting back and someone being killed on the other side?

[Levin] I do not think I can remember one.

[Bogdanov] Well, I would like to draw attention to this aspect of the matter as well.

[Shishlin] That is, if we do not take into account the events of the fifties when it was precisely under the UN flag that war was waged in Korea.

[Levin] But that did not have anything in common with those noble goals that the UN military groups are pursuing. Although you are quite right in recalling this, Nikolay Vladimovich, since there was this black page in the history of the United Nations as well. But now the situation has taken shape in such a way, and the decision has been made to award a prize. It is thought that General Secretary Perez de Cuellar who is regarded at the same time as the supreme commander as it were of those UN forces, will receive the prize on behalf of those who have been awarded it. This indicates yet again that his personal role, the personal role of the UN general secretary, was also taken into consideration in the awarding of that prize.

Let us return to the session itself of the UN General Assembly, and to those meetings. My colleagues said that there were several very interesting, completely new notes in the speech made by Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze. I should like to mention yet another one—I think it deserves it—and that is the approach to the issue of verification. How are we posing that question today? We consider that verification must be developed, that verification is, if you like, a test case for all international agreements. Comrade Shevardnadze said that verification is no longer a matter of predilection but an imperative need dictated by the times. This is also evidence of our new approach and, incidentally, as we have started talking about verification, we shall now make it plain that one of the powers that spoke out most strikingly in

favor of verification for many years, while we were, I would say, dragging our feet, to put it mildly, does not always fulfill the obligations arising from it.

[Shishlin] That is a very important remark. I would like to draw your attention to the following fact. Just imagine that you have a neighbor. He lives in a house in which there is never a light in the windows, the curtains are always drawn. So, you can never see what is going on there. Added to that, he has put up a huge fence through which nothing can be seen. I am making this comparison for you, simply in a human context. What kind of emotions would you experience in such a situation? Even without any kind of intention you would think: Well, what is going on there? Why is he hiding himself away like that? What has he got to hide? And, logically, is he not thinking up something against me?

If one takes a broader look at verification, not only from a technical viewpoint but from the point of view that a new page is, if you like, opening up with regard to trust among states—openness. Eduard Amvrosiyevich—you spoke about sovereignty—but he puts the question of secrecy in an interesting light: the secrecy that existed and was the nutritive medium, excluding the reasonable secrets of course that any state has, which was the nutritive medium for mistrust, for mutual suspicion, for all kinds of accusations.

And what is happenning today? If American inspectors are taking a look at our holy of holies—missile factories, the production line—yet another unique phenomenon is occurring. The U.S. secretary of defense sits in the cockpit of a top-secret Soviet bomber and examines it. And the chief of the Soviet General Staff visits a top-secret U.S. base and has a look round it. He, the chief of General Staff, is on board a U.S. aircraft-carrier and is on the bridge where all of the electronic controls are concentrated. I am telling you all this to show what a gigantic path we have traversed over this period, what foundations are being laid for trust.

[Bogdanov] I think we still have much to do in order to unburden ourselves of that superfluous caution and top secretness. As you know, we have one major debt outstanding. This concerns the military budget, the actual figures of this military budget.

Yes, we have said, we have already promised the world community that we shall publish the figures for our military budget as soon as the reform in the price formation system has been conducted. This is a reasonable stand to take because the calculation of our account is done in a completely different way to that in which the U.S. military budget is drawn up. Naturally, the price reform will make it possible to draw up sufficiently exact, comparable values. But that is one circumstance, the first one, that in actual fact we have not done all we can. There are still things to think about, things to work on here. The second circumstance that I would like to note before answering the question that you are asking is this.

We have indeed changed places with the Americans. And in fact, at the moment the Americans are concealing a good deal more than we are, at least when actual negotiations are underway. This is known when it comes to chemical weapons, and to strategic offensive weapons, in particular with regard to sea-based cruise missiles because the Americans are avoiding direct on-site inspections. But we are saying: You are welcome any time.

[Levin] On board?

[Bogdanov] This inspection is possible on board. However, when it comes to a fear that we shall just simply look like some kind of a scatter-brain who underestimates the degree of enmity that exists in certain political circles in the West with regard to the Soviet Union, I think not. I think not. Nobody has any illusions; no one is saying that we are so fond of each other now that we shall now do nothing but walk hand-in-hand along one and the same path. No, the paths of our social development differ, but we do, of course, live in an interconnected and interdependent world, and the measure of responsibility of every state is at present manifesting itself precisely in the fact that this state knows how to appraise not only its own interests properly, but the interests of its neighbor, and the interests of all the world community; that is, we seek a balance of interests. This balance of interests cannot be determined in some kind of secret game. A balance of interests cannot be defined with one's eyes closed. It can only be determined with one's eyes open, with one's cards on the table, as Mikhail Sergeyevich said with regard to subject like the talks on the reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces.

[Levin] I think with regard to the issue of whether in the interests of world peace, part of the sovereignty can and probably should now be granted to the international communty, this also indicates that mankind's common interests are above class interests as well.

[Shishlin] Viktor Nikolayevich, allow me to object to that. I do not agree with regard to the subejct of the hierarchy of interests. Priority, yes, but which interests are most important—I, for example, consider that the interests of the individual person are sufficiently important.

[Levin] Well, if you make man the center of all problems, including international problems...[Levin changes thought] Incidentally, I shall never forget that that poor, unhappy man is the subject of all the militaristic and various other anti-humane efforts. You could at least ask that man about his interests. Over the last few years we have completely forgotten what is happening and why I

think you are bringing us back to a very interesting problem. For in international relations, too, man forms the center of everything and everything is being done in the name of man. Then everything falls into place. And your point of view, to the effect that interests common to all mankind are above all else—ultimately, if we do not exist, there will not be any interests—we are the ones who have the interests.

[Shishlin] But, of course. When Lenin, you recall, spoke about the intentions of the czarist government to seize the Dardanelles Straits and the Bosporus, Lenin wrote plainly: What interest can that Bosporus and the Dardanelles be to the Russian peasant? Of no interest whatsoever.

[Levin] Yes, unfortunately, we are becoming convinced over and over again that we were not always good students of Vladimir Ilich, but that is another issue; and now if we are talking about the session of the General Assembly, I would like to draw attention to another event that has taken place in the last few days. I have in mind the meeting organized by General Secretary Perez de Cuellar among the five foreign ministers of the five states that are permanent members of the Security Council. Meetings of the ministers of the five permanent members are provided for in the UN Charter. But I cannot even remember when the previous meeting was held, and whether it was held at all. This time the meeting took place. As far as I understand from the official report, attention was focused on the issue of a settlement, a political settlement, of the conflict between Iran and Iraq.

Another matter now being raised is that it would probably be expedient to hold a similar meeting on the events in and around Afghanistan. Incidentally, quite a lot was said on this subject at the General Assembly and we—again, I have Comrade Shevardnadze's speech in mind—have stressed that we are fulfilling our obligations under the Geneva agreements in full, whereas the other side's attitude is not a particularly scrupulous one. As for Pakistan, we have a whole lot of very specific (?grievances).

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Our radio listeners will probably be interested to know that the United States has appointed a special assistant to the U.S. ambassador in Pakistan to handle contacts with the rebels. This is something new, and when the State Department spokeswoman, Mrs Oakley, was asked about that man's mission—would he advise them to continue attacking Soviet troops or would he give different advice—she replied: I do not discuss those matters, but he really will exist only for liaison with the rebel leaders.

This fact probably also throws light on the standpoint of those action as a guarantor, as one of the guarantors, of that agreement.

[Levin] It would, of course, be wrong to create the impression that this session is discussing the most complex international problems in an atmosphere of euphoria or near-euphoria. Although there is a great deal that is new and constructive on the plus side, one must also bear in mind that there remains many unresolved issues in the world. It goes without saying that one is disturbed by Afghanistan and the standpoints of certain powers—above all, Pakistan and the United States—on that issue; one is also disturbed by the fact that our hopes, the Soviet Union's hopes, that the drawing-up of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic arms could be completed before the end of the year have—as can now be definitely stated—proved false, even though, it must be said, very many representatives of other states at the session called for the rapid drawing-up of such an agreement.

Nuclear disarmament has sharply magnified the problem of conventional arms and armed forces, including naval arms. This problem awaits a solution. The problem of ensuring all-Asian security likewise remains on the agenda, as does that of restricting the world arms market. And there are a few more problems besides, which have by no means been resolved and which can only be resolved with a great deal of effort. I think we have to remember this if we are to have a true picture of the international situation today. But nevertheless, I would like to come back again to those most positive results produced by the general debate already held and by Comrade Shevardnadze's meetings. Here, I think, particular attention should be devoted to Eduard Amvrosiyevich's meeting with Qian Qichen, the PRC's minister of foreign affairs, and to the fact that it was agreed at the meeting that Comrade Qian Qichen would visit Moscow before the end of this year to continue the conversation. The Chinese side has already announced that it regards the forthcoming meeting as a step toward a meeting between the two countries' highest leaders.

[Shishlin] Things have been going in this direction for a long time, and since we are discussing this at the very time when the PRC'S 39th anniversary is being celebrated...[changes thought] I think this jubilee in the life of our great neighbor is occurring at a time of notable and substantial improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations, which really are being filled with rich substance in the economic sphere, in cultural links, and in scientific links. No less important is the fact that the political dialogue is gaining momentum as well.

[Bogdanov] A brief personal observation: I spent almost a month in China in October last year and I would simply like to note the exceptional friendliness, the exceptional openness, and the exceptionally good attitude of the Chinese—and I mean the most ordinary Chinese—toward Soviet people. They haven't forgotten anything in China, none of the sacred and good elements of our past relations.

[Shishlin] I would like to mention that the past week also saw such notable events as the arrival in our country of the leaders of fraternal socialist states, that is, the visits of Comrade Kaysone Phomvihan and Erich Honecker. I consider it to be a fairly precious thing that both Laos, in its own distinctive circumstances, is sensitive to the ideas which have come out of the Soviet restructuring, and that the GDR, whose position is also in many ways distinctive, is also perceiving quite sensitively the constructive, bold, and renovative ideas produced by the process of revolutionary renovation—if you'll forgive the tautology—of our society.

[Bogdanov] After all, things are what they are: if something is revolutionary then it is revolutionary, and there's no other word for it.

[Shishlin] Yes.

[Levin] The other day Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev reiterated that the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries have a common destiny. There are thousands of threads—political, economic, and ideological—connecting them to one another, and major changes in any one of them affect, one way or another, the situation of its friends and allies. In this respect, of course, it is quite easy to understand the interest being displayed by our friends in the process of the revolutionary restructuring underway in the Soviet Union and the realization that the restructuring is a process aimed at fully putting into practice the ideals and values of the October Revolution.

We have very rich baggage, very rich experience, in our mutual relations with the fraternal socialist countries, but life—and this is probably one of its great virtues—never stands still and that which was fine yesterday no longer satisfies us today. In particular, it was noted during the talks and conversations between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gobachev and Erich Honecker that cooperation between the Soviet Union and the GDR is being filled with ever richer substance and is developing, but in assessing the positive work already done both sides reach the unanimous conclusion that the pace at which cooperation is developing is still far from the two countries' capabilities and requirements. This dissatisfaction with what has been achieved, this realization that we can do more—we have to do more if we are to place all the capabilities of socialist society, of the socialist method of production at the service of the people—is precisely the powerful impulse we need to develop our relations—economic, political, and so on. This realization is developing on the foundation of the firm conviction that the reinforcement and intensification of friendship and cooperation between the socialist countries are their main concern and internationalist duty. On such a foundation any talks can be resolved and, as we are firmly convinced, will be.

Coming back to what has been the leitmotive of today's broadcast, that is, the work of the UN General Assembly session, I would like to note once again that it has more and more to its credit, but that unresolved problems remain and that it is important not to slacken the pace in tackling those problems facing the world. The Soviet Union, as reaffirmed quite convincingly once again by our country's stance set forth at the United Nations and confirmed in the bilateral and and multilateral meetings between our minister and the heads of the foreign-policy departments of other countries in New York, aims precisely at this.

With that, we conclude our broadcast. Thank you for your attention and all the best.

Roundup of UN General Assembly 29 Sep Session
LD3009093688 Moscow TASS in English 0902 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Text] New York September 30 TASS—Thursday was a really festive day at the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly: a dispatch came from Oslo saying that the U.N. international peace-keeping forces had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1988. Opening the plenary meeting of the General Assembly, U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar pointed out that the decision showed that a search for peace was a common cause involving all nations in the world. The U.N.'s latest achievements are not accidental and are a result of long-standing and persistent efforts symbolized by its peace-keeping operations.

In turn, Dante Caputo, president of the 43rd session and Argentine minister of foreign affairs and worship, noted that the new international climate opened for the U.N. real possibilities to play an ever greater role in the collective security system whose fundamental instrument is its peace-keeping forces.

The idea on the need for raising and strengthening the role of the U.N. as a unique international centre for ensuring universal security also key-notes speeches of participants in the general political debate which is going on at the session. They point to the need for multilateral vigorous actions on tackling pressing problems of our times.

Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney suggested that those who doubt the value of multilateral diplomacy and the U.N. should review their opinions under new conditions in the international arena. A road of cooperation rather than confrontation between the East and the West, talks rather than war in regional disputes lies ahead of the international community in our times. World nations, he noted, should strengthen the role of the U.N. Security Council in peace-making and peace-keeping throughout the world.

Mexican Foreign Minister Bernardo Sepulveda Amor called on the entire international community to join efforts of the two great powers which made the first steps towards freeing the world from the nuclear threat. He pointed out that his country, as well as other participants

in the Group of Six, was for complete discontinuation of nuclear tests, prevention of the arms race from shifting to outer space and for the start of a serious discussion on reduction of conventional weapons.

Today winds of history evidently blow in the right direction, said Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti. This is corroborated by a confidential and sincere dialogue between the USA and the USSR, which is picking up steam, as well as by the role of the U.N., which it plays in tackling regional crises and conflicts. Regrettably, agreements between the two great powers have not been butressed so far with any results at various multilateral fora.

In the opinion of Brian Lenihan, Irish deputy prime minister and foreign minister, security of states should be built not on the might of weapons but on an international order based on strict observance of international law. The U.N. system conforms to the interests of all states in the interdependent world.

Efforts of peace-loving forces doomed to bankruptcy the most reactionary trends in international relations and ideas of the type that a nuclear war can be waged and won and that military superiority is a means of ensuring security, said Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca. The world spurns down [as received] such programmes as the SDI, capable of aggravating the arms race and increasing the threat of the world's complete destruction. New style is taking root in international relations. It is based on a dialogue, mutual understanding and a negotiated settlement of conflicts which have darkened the world horizon for years and put states on the brink of cataclysms. The Cuban minister pointed out in this context that the important agreements reached by the two leading nuclear countries, apart from becoming a contribution to ensuring peace and security for the present and future generations, provided all of us with a chance to hope for a release of considerable funds for the development of all countries and for overcoming the aftermaths of the world economic crisis.

The results of talks between the USSR and the USA had a positive influence on the entire state of international relations, noted Budimir Loncar, Yugoslav federal secretary for foreign affairs. Hailing the improvement of relations between the USSR and the USA, the nonaligned countries hold at the same time that a real and stable settlement of international conflicts can be achieved only with the participation of all countries, and they are ready to make their contribution to a settlement of regional and global problems.

Petrovskiy UN Meeting With Peres, Others Noted

PM0310092388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Contacts Continuing"]

[Text] New York, 30 Sep—V.F. Petrovskiy, deputy head of the USSR delegation at the 43d UN General Assembly session, met 29 September with Foreign Ministers K. Papoulias of Greece, D. Caputo of Argentina, Y. Iakovou of Cyprus, and S. Peres of Israel.

Such conversations are a regular feature in the first few days' work of the UN General Assembly's annual sessions, when politicians from many countries come to New York. At the meetings they discuss questions on the General Assembly session's agenda, there is a search for a rapprochement of positions, and questions of bilateral relations are also raised. D. Caputo is chairing the current session. This year the exchange of opinions is taking place against the background of general agreement regarding the existence of positive trends in the development of the international situation.

Greece currently chairs the EEC and for that reason during the conversation with K. Papoulias the sides paid special attention to questions of USSR-EEC relations. The Soviet side stressed that the establishment of Soviet-EEC cooperation should help in consolidating political and economic relations, strengthening the material basis of detente and mutual trust in Europe, building the common European home, and improving the international situation as a whole.

The conversation with Y. Iakovou noted the continuing fruitful development of Soviet-Cypriot relations. The sides approved the resumption of dialogue between the communities in Cyprus and expressed the hope that it will move the Cyprus question toward a just and mutually acceptable solution. The Soviet side confirmed its firm support for the Cypriot state's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity, and policy of nonalignment as well as the need to elaborate a just and all-embracing solution of the Cyprus problem on those principles.

In the conversation with S. Peres, the Soviet side expressed serious concern at the Israeli authorities' actions in the occupied Arab territories. They make the prospects for a settlement more difficult and arouse condemnation everywhere, including the Soviet Union. The Israeli minister was informed of the Soviet approach to the all-embracing settlement of the Near East conflict on the basis of a balance of interests through the convening of an international conference involving all interested sides, including the PLO and the states which are permanent members of the Security Council.

On the question of the normalization of bilateral relations raised by the Israeli side, it was pointed out that a solution to this question may be found when an international conference on the Near East begins.

Meets Syrian, PLO Officials

LD0110102088 Moscow TASS in English 1010 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 1 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy met with the leaders of a number of delegations to the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly in New York September 30.

During his conversations with Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' and the head of the Political Department of the PLO Executive Committee, Faruq Qaddumi, stress was made on the need for the world community to step up efforts to defuse the Arab-Israeli conflict and convene under the U.N. aegis an international conference as the sole effective mechanism for achieving a comprehensive and fair settlement in the region.

Radio Reports on Autumn NATO Maneuvers
LD2309113788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] [Announcer] NATO's autumn military maneuvers continue in West Germany. Our special correspondent, Kipras Mazheyka, reports from where events are taking place.

[Mazheyka] Osennyaya Kuznitsa, the Russian translation of the maneuvers, "Autumn Forge" (Schwabeshau) is in Bavaria, southern FRG. I am in a helicopter equipped with film and still-photo cameras. Our correspondent and the Soviet television cameraman have quite an impressive group accompanying them: two captains, one from the U.S. Army and one from the Bundeswehr; and two sergeants; and a three-man crew. We are allowed to photograph from the air anything we like. The pilot recircles, choosing the best angle to see and photograph the things that interest us: a tank, a self-propelled unit, a column of trucks, guns in dugouts covered with camouflage nets.

Not a word is said about the route, and this applies even more to the location of the military units and their description. Only the pilot has a map of the locality, so that it would be very difficult even for a military specialist to get a general picture of the exercises. The route seems to have been very carefully chosen. In essence we are flying in a narrow air corridor, skirting the locations of the maximum concentration of combat equipment.

Even a few years ago, a trip to such a reserved area as the NATO military maneuver zone is something I would not even have dreamed about. Today it is reality, just as the rapidly changing general political climate is moving toward more trust and mutual understanding. Even though our opponents in the West do not wish or are very reluctant to admit it, the facts here are inexorable: Were it not for our far-sighted peace steps and constructive proposals, the situation here in Europe and throughout the world could have turned out quite different.

Upon observing these military games, I think to myself that in essence they serve no purpose, they are just a waste of time. The USSR does not intend to threaten anyone; it is better to compete in the Olympics.

[Announcer] The very fact that our correspondent was present at such maneuvers is undisputed evidence of the improvement in the international climate.

Western Plan To Establish Orbital Station
PM0310093388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Joint Station"]

[Text] Washington, 30 Sep—The United States, nine West European countries, and also Canada and Japan signed an agreement in Washington Thursday on establishing an orbital station to be called "Freedom." According to specialists' estimates, its development and construction will cost $23 billion.

The United States will put up $16 billion, the West European countries $4.2 billion, Japan $2 billion, and Canada approximately $1 billion to implement this program. The United States is to create the station's supporting framework [nesushchaya ferma], the entire power supply system, the living module, and a laboratory module. The West European countries—a laboratory module and two space platforms; one of them will be serviced periodically by astronauts, while the other—launched into a polar orbit—will function automatically. The United States is to construct another platform to be placed in a polar orbit. Japan is to create a module for conducting experiments, and Canada a mobile system designed to assemble and service the station.

Reagan-Mitterrand Talks Show Differences on Arms
PM0310085988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Koryavin report under the "Facts, Events, Opinions" rubric: "F. Mitterrand in Washington"]

[Text] Washington—When journalists were briefly allowed into the Oval Office where R. Reagan was receiving President F. Mitterrand of France, questions relating to East-West relations immediately came pouring in.

The press had "guessed" the agenda of the talks which had opened between the two leaders. Subsequent official commentaries revealed that they were dominated by East-West relations and arms control questions. This was announced by Ridgway, assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs, at a press briefing.

U.S. sources point out that the U.S. and French stances on a number of arms control questions are not yet "fully coordinated," as one observer put it. For instance, the French side gives priority to talks on conventional arms and while leaving its "nuclear arsenals intact," whereas the United States has concluded the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The United States favors direct talks between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, while France gives preference to conducting them within the CSCE framework.

At the same time there are no differences in basic U.S. and French policy in respect of the East-West dialogue and the approach to the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries. The latest visit was intended to demonstrate once again the strengthening alliance between the two countries. In addition, the press emphasizes, the visit was surrounded by "protocol ceremonial," because this is the last meeting between Mitterrand and R. Reagan as U.S. President.

Reagan and Mitterrand highlighted the question of banning chemical weapons and discussed the two states' stances on this subject. As is known, international negotiations concerning these lethal weapons call for an urgent quest for accords to remove the obstacles which have cropped up. Although a certain rapproachement in positions has been achieved, dialogue was clearly hampered by the French concept of "minimum security stocks," that is France's claim to the right to retain certain types of chemical weapons.

There is a pressing need now for convening an international conference to facilitate the quest for ways to ban chemical weapons.

F. Mitterrand not only expressed France's desire to take part in such an international meeting but also proposed that it be held in Paris.

Admiral LaRocque Comments on Krasnoyarsk Speech
PM3009125788 Moscow TRUD in Russian
30 Sep 88 p 3

[Interview in Washington with Admiral Gene LaRocque, director of the Center for Defense Information, by own correspondent V. Sisnev: "Admiral LaRocque: A Very Good Proposal"; date not specified]

[Text] Washington, Sep—The last time I talked with Admiral Gene LaRocque, director of Washington's Center for Defense Information, was on the eve of President Reagan's arrival in Moscow, when the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was still in "suspended animation," as it were. The U.S. Senate was delaying its ratification. And now I had a new meeting with the admiral. The first intermediate-range missiles have already been destroyed on both sides. What, in this connection, is the mood of one of the first professional military men to realize the need for nuclear disarmament for the sake of preserving life on earth?

"My mood is fine," Adm LaRocque replied. "We have undoubtedly taken a giant step in the right direction. I hope it will be followed by many other steps. But, on the other hand, I am seriously concerned that some people in the United States are calling for other missiles to 'compensate' for the West European arsenal which is being destroyed. I am pleased to hear that both presidential candidates support the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, as well as the idea of a 50-percent reduction in strategic arms. At the same time, however, George Bush defends the plans to create [sozdaniye] other kinds of surface missiles, such as Midgetman and MX, which will be able to reach the Soviet Union's territory. This runs counter to the idea of a 50-percent reduction in strategic missiles and makes nonsense of it. What is the point in reducing the nuclear arsenal with one hand while increasing it with the other? Of course, it may be that Bush is simply reassuring right-wing forces in this way. A remarkable situation has now been created here. The Congress will not allow more than $300 billion—the limit that has existed for the past 3 years—to be spent on military purposes. Thus, if Bush succeeds in convincing congressmen of the need for new missiles and to continue the SDI program, he will still have to reduce spending on conventional armed forces. And President Reagan recently issued a directive to cut personnel by 32,000 and to reduce the Navy by 16 ships. So, from my viewpoint, Bush's proposal makes little sense.

"Michael Dukakis has a totally different approach. He believes that we do not need either Midgetman, MX, or 'Star Wars.' He intends to strengthen the conventional armed forces, which can be done without the capital investments required by the first option. Therefore I consider Dukakis' proposal more realistic."

[Sisnev] I would like to hear your opinion of the new Soviet initiatives advanced by M.S. Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk. Many of them can be said to relate to your specialty, since they concern naval problems. What is your attitude, for example, to a "freeze" on nuclear levels in the Pacific?

[LaRocque] This is something that can be achieved very easily, and such an agreement must be concluded as quickly as possible.

[Sisnev] And what about the mutual closure of naval bases?

[LaRocque] This is a very good proposal. We do not need bases in the Philippines and, moreover, we will most likely have to get out of there when the treaty with that country's government expires in 1991. I personally have long been pressing for a withdrawal from that region. There is currently a growth of nationalist sentiments in the Philippines, and if we want to remain there for the next 5 years we will have to pay three times as much as before, that is, $1.5-2 billion. I know this at first hand, as I have long been well acquainted with the present Philippine foreign minister, and I believe that the demands which he is making on his government's behalf are perfectly reasonable. Even if our new president agrees to this, I doubt that Congress would approve such appropriations. And since the Soviet base in Vietnam is one of the chief reasons why we have bases in the Philippines, simultaneous elimination would be an advantageous decision offensive to no one.

[Sisnev] Is a reduction in the naval presence in the Sea of Japan possible in your opinion?

[LaRocque] That is a "tough nut." I doubt anything will come of this. The United States and the Navy Command in particular are opposed to renouncing operations in the world ocean. The only precedent for limitations of this kind, as far as I recall, happened in the twenties with regard to the Mediterranean. But that was before the United States became a world sea power. We would do without the Sea of Japan, but this is a matter of principle for the Navy. And if we creep into the Black Sea to show our flag off your shores there, I will honestly say I foresee no agreement on the Sea of Japan in the immediate future.

[Sisnev] It is also proposed to convene an international conference by 1990 to proclaim the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. How do you rate this?

[LaRocque] This undoubtedly has potential. Admiral Zumwalt once claimed that such a transformation of the Indian Ocean would be very dangerous. Not only did I adhere to the opposite opinion but I also advanced this proposal as much as 15 years ago. Being one of those involved in drawing up the Pentagon's strategic plans, I demonstrated that the base on Diego Garcia was useless to us and extremely vulnerable. Warships are now kept there to protect it. It will take, perhaps, 10-15 years to implement this proposal, but it is worth it.

[Sisnev] And the last question. It is proposed to turn the radar station near Krasnoyarsk into an international space center. To what extent would this accord with the interests of further relaxing the international climate?

[LaRocque] It is a splendid idea! Turning the Krasnoyarsk station into an international center is, I would say, simply a revelation. Our public hears a great deal about this but knows little about the factual side. Therefore it is now very convenient for some people to refer to Krasnoyarsk when trying to push through the SDI plans.

I hope that our governments will, at least, enter into negotiations on this and all the other points of the program set forth by the Soviet leader.

Foreign Ministry Briefing on Japan Island Claims

OW3009082888 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] The Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Department deputy chief, Perfilyev, in a briefing at the press center on 28 September, refuted Japanese media reports that the Soviet position on the territories issue has changed. He said as follows:

There have recently appeared in the mass media of Japan reports asserting that a Soviet Government official had contacted a senior Japanese Government official in Paris in early September, inquiring about the possibility of leasing four northern islands and Sakhalin to the Japanese Government as well as establishing a special economic zone in Vladivostok on the basis of joint enterprise.

These reports alleging an indication of change in the Soviet stand with regard to the so-called territories question have also been quoted by mass media of the United States and the United Kingdom.

We would like to announce that these reports have no basis whatsoever. No personnel of the Soviet and Japanese Governments have ever met in Paris or elsewhere to discuss the territories question. The basic position of the Soviet Union regarding Japan's claim on a part of Soviet territory is the same as that has been stated by the Soviet Union before and has not changed.

The Japanese mass media reports leave the impression that there are some people who like to raise a dust cloud and then [words indistinct].

RSFSR Minister on Far East Trade Ties

LD0210055888 Moscow TASS in English 0529 GMT 2 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 2—By TASS correspondent Vadim Biryukov:

"A heavy movement of commodities and people hampers missiles to fly", my interlocutor Vladimir Vinogradov pronounced this aphorism with clear satisfaction. "How rightly said and, what is most important, up to the point". The foreign minister of the Russian Federation explained that he heard this phrase in Moscow during the recent meeting of the governors of Japan's prefectures and chairmen of regional and territorial soviets (councils) of Soviet Russia. "The participants in the meeting were so keen on discussing the opportunities which economic, cultural and scientific bilateral exchanges open to their electors that they just forgot about missiles. So, it was then that someone of the Japanese pronounced this phrase".

"Look at the map", the minister says. "Soviet Russia has in the Far East the common border with China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), the United States and Japan. Therefore, the question what role the peace initiatives launched by Mikhail Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk have to play for the Russian Federation has an obvious answer—they have the most direct bearing on the vital interests of the Soviet people living in the country's Far- Eastern territories and regions".

According to the minister, Russia's diplomats sense an improvement of relations between the USSR and China, the increase in mutual gravitation that occurs between our countries. The large territorial units of the Soviet Far East—Maritime and Khabarovsk territories, the Amur and Chita regions—got down to intensive economic

exchanges with Chinese provinces adjacent to them. The cross-border tourism begins to develop. "Our people in Soviet Russia want to get a better idea of the Chinese people's life, and will be glad to familiarize Chinese citizens with their country", the minister says. He adds that the most vigorous cross-border contacts are maintained now with the Chinese province of Liaoning.

"The proposal for setting up in the Far East zones of mutual trade, forming a special body to coordinate foreign economic ties, building civilian facilities on the principles of reciprocity, which rang out during Mikhail Gorbachev's trip to Krasnoyarsk, opens up new and broad vistas for improving Soviet-Chinese relations", Vladimir Vinogradov said.

Soviet Russia does bustling trade with the DPRK. Although vegetables prevail in its assortment for the present, this is only the beginning. The future opens up by far greater opportunities. Several thousand woodcutters and machine operators from the DPRK harvest timber in Khabarovsk territory for deliveries to their country.

A group of Americans from Alaska led by the Alaska governor arrived in the Soviet Provideniya Bay recently. Alluring plans of joint ventures and tourist exchanges evolved as a result of this visit.

Developing contacts with Japan is of no less importance to Russia's border territories and region. "Although there has been a downward trend in Soviet-Japanese relations recently, nevertheless there is a good foundation for imparting greater dynamism to relations between the two countries on the basis of bilateral and regional interests", the foreign minister of the Russian Federation points out.

And here Vladimir Vinogradov again returned to the story of the meeting, the tenth of its kind (the previous one was held nine years ago), of the governors of Japan's prefectures and chairmen of territorial and regional soviets of the Soviet Far East. This meeting was useful. But the minister recalled it not only because of this. It appears that one more curious aphorism was born then: "Apply to local authorities—they will help remove snags in relations between governments".

"Isn't it well-put in this case", Vladimir Vinogradov, number one diplomat of Soviet Russia, smiled.

PRAVDA Editor Cited on Soviet Peace Policy

OW0310053888 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1435 GMT 2 Oct 88

[From the "Viewpoint" program: recorded interview with Lev Spiridonov, PRAVDA first deputy chief editor; date, place not given; Spiridonov speaks in Russian with simultaneous Japanese translation—following is from Japanese]

[Text] [Video shows Spiridonov sitting opposite unnamed reporter] [Spiridonov] Soviet East-West and North-South policies have been consistent over the years. They have been based on the principles of democratization of international relations, disarmament, and world security. From the Soviet viewpoint, the objective of these policies is to create the environment for Soviet peace and development. In other words, the USSR wishes to concentrate all its energies on economic development alone.

Our country has many problems. One of the conditions for the solution of such problems is international relaxation of tensions. Therefore, the USSR is engaging in disarmament and has been reducing its military spending.

It is only natural for the USSR to attach importance to the Asia-Pacific region. Three billion people live here, and this is where 60 percent of world economic development occurs. Also, one-third of world trade is conducted in this region. Looking at the USSR's national boundary, it is evident that the USSR belongs to the Asia-Pacific region. It wishes to contribute to the region's development on the basis of mutual interest. This is also the purpose of General Secretary Gorbachev's proposals in Krasnoyarsk.

Furthermore, the USSR is concerned over the tremendous military activities of the United States in the Asia-Pacific region. In particular, the Soviet Union is, of course, concerned with the reinforcement of U.S. military power following the destruction of medium-range missiles in Asia in accordance with the agreement reached between the United States and the USSR—for instance, its long-term deployment of two warships at Yokosuka. [video shows stills of two Aegis ships] In other words, the USSR is calling for a reduction of such military force.

Among his proposals in Krasnoyarsk, Gorbachev made a concrete proposal on U.S. military bases in the Philippines and the Soviet naval port at Cam Ranh Bay. He also appealed to the United States and other countries to follow the Soviet example and refrain from further increasing nuclear armament in Asia.

Underuse of UN Military Staff Committee Cited

PM3009164388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent A. Shalnev: "Activity of United Nations and Its Military Staff Committee"]

[Text] New York—The session lasted slightly over 20 minutes and discussed one question—the cadres question: What post should be sought by a communications officer who should retire at the end of his contract but who would like to work another 18 months to reach pension age.

The next session should by tradition be held in 2 weeks. What question will be discussed? The same question—the cadres question: What to do with the communications officer. Only this time the discussion will be more thorough: According to preliminary estimates it will take about 2 hours...

It is hard to believe it, but it is a fact: In a period of unusually great activity for the United Nations, in a period when in addition to the seven groupings of UN military observers and peacekeeping forces already operating in various parts of the world, at least two more will very soon appear—in a period like this the UN Military Staff Committee is engaged mainly in the solution of routine questions. Questions which, in my view as an onlooker, obviously do not require repeated sessions and the maintenance of an apparatus of 45 people, not counting technical workers.

Let us turn to the fundamental UN documents and, specifically, to Article 47 of the UN Charter which makes provision for the establishment of a Military Staff Committee (MSC), and to the statutes of the committee itself. The documents reveal that the committee is an organ of the Security Council set up for the purpose of providing advice and assistance on all questions pertaining to the military needs of the Council in the cause of maintaining international peace and security, drafting plans for the use of armed forces, and accepting responsibility and strategic leadership of the armed forces at the disposal of the Security Council.

This is the theory. The practice, according to one of the highest ranking UN diplomats with whom I had occasion to talk, is as follows: "The Security Council has never assigned the MSC a single, not even the most trivial, task." Let me add to this the remarks of retired USAF Colonel Dzh. Martin [name as published], the selfsame communications officer whose fate is currently being decided at the committee's sessions: "We have never been used for the purpose for which we were set up. It is an absurd situation. Many people who work in this building, in the building of the UN Secretariat, did not even know about our existence."

They know about it now, people are talking about the MSC now, they are discussing it intensively. This has been largely brought about by the stance adopted by the Soviet Union which has raised the question of the galvanization of the Military Staff Committee more than once during the past year. Among the proposals which we have put forward is to hold a session of the committee at the level of the chiefs of general staff of the armed forces of UN Security Council permanent members. Incidentally, the statutes of the MSC state quite clearly in section 4(a) that the committee "consists of chiefs of staff or their representatives." As far as I have understood from conversations with people who are directly involved in the work of the committee no reply to this proposal has as yet been received.

What is the reason for this situation? Why is it, for instance, that high-caliber military experts with excellent qualifications simply have no opportunity to use their knowledge and experience?

The answer which I have heard most often is this: "The conceptual differences in the approaches to the question of the role of the MSC on the part of the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and the United States, Britain, and France, on the other, are too great."

"It is paradoxical," a ranking UN official has said. "We have been able to reach unanimity on a number of major, very acute problems at the Security Council. However, this unanimity somehow cannot be extended to the Military Staff Committee." Here is an example: "The Council managed, not with ease, but nonetheless managed, to adopt Resolution 598 on the Iran-Iraq conflict. However, no progress has been registered on the proposal to set up naval forces under the aegis of the United Nations which, among other things, could assume peace-keeping functions in the Persian Gulf.

Objections come, primarily, from the United States. So I turned to the U.S. mission to clarify Washington's stance. "Unfortunately," I was told, "there is no one here who would be prepared to give you an interview." So the opinion of staffers of other missions and UN experts will have to be cited.

The reasons for Washington's objections, experts believe, are to be sought in the fact that the creation of a UN fleet and its deployment in the Persian Gulf, for example, would deprive the United States of the excuse for its own naval presence in various "hot spots." Washington cannot allow this. If the committee discharged its proper functions, the weekly NATION wrote, "there would be no need for the U.S. Navy to play the difficult role which it is currently playing in the Persian Gulf."

Let me recall: The Security Council, and only the Security Council, has the right "to task" the Military Staff Committee. The MSC cannot undertake anything on its own initiative. And the Council has not assigned it any tasks, nor will it do so in the near future, judging by appearances. The two more peace-keeping and observation operations to be launched before the end of the current year—in southern Africa and in Western Sahara—will again take place without the involvement of the Military Staff Committee.

Meanwhile, as for Namibia, we are talking about an operation which will cost in the order of $700 million and will involve approximately 7,000 military servicemen. By way of comparison, let us note that a little over 10,000 men are involved in the peacekeeping operations which are already being carried out now. Whereas here a single operation will take almost as many men. In addition it is planned to send around 2,000 men to the Western Sahara.

The scale of the military operations which the United Nations is carrying out is immeasurably greater than ever before in the history of the international community. In the viewpoint of UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar "Our organization's potential for establishing and maintaining peace has rarely been in such demand as now." Hence the sharp increase in the demand for very high-caliber military specialists like those assembled at the Military Staff Committee. But that demand, as I learned from conversations in the corridors of the United Nations, is often satisfied by bringing in experts from outside, and for very considerable compensation, whereas the Military Staff Committee could do that same work effectively for free, leaving aside the cost of technical personnel, thereby saving considerable resources at a time when the United Nations is experiencing a chronic financial crisis.

Recently the United Nations has managed to achieve compromises on many questions but not on the Military Staff Committee, which now, more than 40 years after its creation, has still not taken its first independent step. Narrow national interests are augmented here by the factor of the psychological legacy of the cold war. In conversations which I had when collecting information for this article I heard it said: "In the Military Staff Committee there is a distrust and suspicion left over from those quite recent times when it was customary to say 'yes' if the other side said 'no,' and 'no' when it said 'yes'." There is no certainty, I was told, that, for example, if the Soviet Union puts forward a concrete plan for a particular military operation that plan will not meet with a U.S. veto at the Military Staff Committee. And vice versa.

A way out of this deadlock will surely have to be found because the tasks performed by the United Nations are so extraordinarily complex and large in scale. And the sooner the Security Council decides to use what Dzh. Martin called its "legitimate child sent out into the corridor" the better. And indeed should the dozens of top officers and generals belonging to the Military Staff Committee not be doing something other than merely settling cadre questions?

United States & Canada

Further on Information, Culture Exchange Talks

Yakovlev Addresses Meeting

LD2809222288 Moscow TASS in English 2214 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 28 TASS—Follows the full text of the speech of Aleksandr Yakovlev, CPSU CC Politburo member and CPSU CC secretary, made before the participants in the Soviet-American meeting on questions of exchanges in the field of information, publishing business, culture and art:

We all want to hear the truth about ourselves, but the realities of the recent decades have been such that the principal forces, the energies and the intellectual potential of thousands of people are being spent on inventing an untruth about ourselves—a flattering one, and untruth about the opponent—a derogatory one. The sophistication here has reached a zenith, but the amorality of deception is becoming increasingly evident in the present-day conditions. Satirists of the propaganda media continue to sharpen their pens, thus risking to run out of their physical and moral resources.

But, alas for us, we continue to live in a world full of contradictions, myths and prejudices. The edifice of the psychological warfare is being undermined by increase in knowledge, but its roof still retains its silhouette.

I am confident that this new Soviet-American meeting on questions of exchanges not only has a destructive thrust vis-a-vis the reciprocal heritage of ill-will, but also a creative meaning, for it aims at building an edifice of cooperation and trust.

That is why I feel a great satisfaction in welcoming the participants of the new meeting in Moscow. Such meetings may not have become quite customary yet, but at least they are perceived today as normal, natural and necessary. This fact is a symbol of the changes for the better that have already occurred and continue to take place in the Soviet-American relations, a sign of a reciprocal desire to go farther along the road of mutual understanding.

When we conversed with Mr. Charles Wick a few days ago, our talk turned to the thought that, before the 1985 Geneva meeting, the idea of meetings of this kind would have been inconceivable. And now it is already not the first time that we are discussing how and what can be done jointly in order to doff the onerous load of the past.

Thus, there are grounds for being satisfied with what has been achieved. But we in the Soviet Union now put to the forefront not satisfaction with what has already been done but rather this question: what is needed in order that the Soviet-American relations could be further stabilized and enriched and receive an upward thrust?

It is axiomatic for us that we want normal relations with the United States. Nobody has gained from confrontation. This is in the best eventuality. In the modern world, with account for its interdependences, its military, political, ecological and all other realities, we simply cannot, and have no right to, permit ourselves to further engage in muscle-flexing. The unreasonable childishness passes, the imperative of reason is inevitable, and this is the quintessence of the new thinking.

Another thing is also axiomatic to us, namely this: The "price" of normal relations cannot and will not be societies' renunication of their character, values and notions. The basic, principal qualities of different societies and social systems are not changed at arbitrary whim or to order. That is why illusions here are very dangerous and fraught with unpredictability.

Such relations are not a favour by one side, confidence is not a philanthropic gesture but a reciprocal process, a sine qua non, inevitable condition for mankind's survival in today's world. And this is not just a hypothesis or a theory, it is a proved reality.

I would divide the task of survival into two parts. Parts which are interlinked, but nevertheless different, each with a specificity of its own.

The first is to prevent a nuclear war, to get rid of this threat constantly hanging over us, and as a longer term prospect—of the threat of war in general. The main source of mistrust and suspicion is precisely there, and it will remain there for as long as this threat objectively remains.

What does it mean to have your confidence betrayed, say, in any other area? It means to sustain some economic losses, a political damage, to experience a psychological stress. It is difficult, unpleasant, but no more than that. To be deceived in your trust in military-political matters is to place the existence of humankind in jeopardy.

"Everything is in the hands of God," say some. "Everything is in the hands of man", say others. But it is necessary to install a firm belief in man that he is capable of removing from the road the very possibility of a nuclear apocalypse.

That is why we believe that furthering the Soviet-American relations is a key to the rest. And that is why we are convinced, and practice confirms this, that any headway here ought to be reciprocal, for otherwise there will be no success.

The second part of the survival problem: to learn to cooperate farther, beyond the prevention of the war threat, in all other fields. To accumulate experience. To create and develop international legal foundations here.

To broaden the sphere of cooperation. To learn reciprocal tolerance, an indulgent attitude to what today appears as oddities of the other side or prejudices in thinking.

If we are to look back today at the history of the past 40 years of the Soviet-American relations, it would be in order, it seems to me, to say this: Following every new normalisation a fresh setback occurred with especial clarity precisely there. Namely, in the inability (sometimes, maybe, in the reluctance) to set in place normal cooperation, to treat calmly and soberly the differences, conflicts of interests, misunderstandings, and ill-advised actions of one another.

In a quite recent future none of the sides expected anything good from the other. But this situation is incompatible with security—on the contrary, it generates a state of permanent danger. It is incompatible with normal cooperation, with reasonable and rational prospects. In the final analysis, it is incompatible with survival.

In the past three years we have progressed towards confidence and constructiveness, and if a setback occurred now, back to the worst times, this would, like it or not, call into question not just the achievements of recent years but also the ways and the means of securing these achievements, and a global disappointment would set in. And so both you and us now have things to lose. And I think that this realisation is the most crucial achievement in our relations. But it prompts us also to pay attention to those issues which previously may have failed to become part of those of priority importance.

Essentially, as I have already said, there has developed in the long decades in our relations an institution of resistance, including in the field of information. Its constituent parts have been tried out quite passably. This is especially true of political-psychological attitudes: attunement to a definite wave of expectations, statements, mutual assessments, etc. It is time to give up this institution.

We need an institution for constructive interaction between our countries, which must with time displace the former. This also presupposes, among other things, a very conscious and critical attitude to the now customary cliches and symbols.

We need, in other words, to tune the minds of men in both countries to the new thinking, based on mutual respect and trust. Otherwise the exigencies of life, the efforts of political figures and good initiatives—all these may sooner or later press against a wall of an intellectual and psychological non-perception.

In saying all this I am far from implying any kind of manipulation of public opinion. If such attempts did take place, even out of the best of intentions, then in such serious matters as the relations between our two countries, they would inevitably cause setbacks, greater mistrust and suspicion. There must be no manipulation—either for better or for worse. Good business can rely only on a solid foundation, on truth and honesty.

All have to reform themselves. But by saying this I am far from presenting the situation in a manner implying that it is now the turn of the USA. All have problems and tasks of their own, but all have them.

But in gaining life experience, especially in the conditions of the struggle for survival, everyone wishing to achieve something, must be prepared for this psychologically, morally and intellectually. It is the same in the relations between the USSR and the USA: If we want stability, reliable security, cooperation and trust—we have to decide on this responsibly. It is naive to assume that these not simple objectives can be attained by themselves or as a result of one side imposing its will and its approaches on the other. This is not possible either for us or for you. Neither now nor in the future.

How do we move toward such an institution for interaction between our countries in practical terms? For ourselves we have made a choice, and this choice with its underlying philosophy, we described as the new political thinking.

It stems from the restructuring, renovation of society. I will not speak about how difficult it was, what political courage it took. Neither shall I speak about the fact that objectively we do, of course, take risks to a certain extent. Especially if we take into account the fact that we hear different voices, including the voices of those who would be quite willing to move away from extreme forms of confrontation but to replace them with other forms of confrontation.

And, nevertheless, the restructuring in international relations is based on the assessment of where the world and the relations between the countries are objectively heading to and what constitutes the long-term interests of the USSR and the USA.

And a few words about our internal affairs. About their long-term meaning. We are now vigorously discussing many things, sometimes acrimoniously, and this can generate in outside observers different, including incorrect judgments. It is in our mutual interest that there be full clarity on this.

Restructuring means the strengthening of socialism, its development, the opening up of new prospects. This is true of both home and foreign policy. We closely scrutinise the past and ask ourselves whether everything was done in the best possible way. Intensive learning is going on on the basis of errors, miscalculations but also of experience.

And it would be a delusion to assume that the limit of our dreams is to replicate the Western economic and political system. We are prepared to borrow all the best, suitable for us, from all the spheres of life in all countries and peoples. Including those in the West. In the process, however, we intend to follow a road of our own, to use our own heads, to build and develop our society.

In the West there are many disputes and speculations around our glasnost, its contents, and limits. I will tell you this straight: Glasnost is a renunciation of lies in all their forms. Of a direct and deliberate self-delusion. Of convenient omissions, and of other similar things.

Glasnost is strength, courage and ability to look the truth of life straight in the face. And we are prepared for it in both our home and foreign affairs.

And this means that we have to build new human relations together.

Wick Attends Moscow Concert

LD0110203388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The first performance of the joint Soviet-U.S. musical show, "Sophisticated Ladies," took place today in Moscow's Central Concert Hall. The proceeds from the first night will be passed on to the Soviet cultural fund.

The guests of honor included Raisa Maksimovna Gorbacheva; USSR Culture Minister Zakharov; USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Adamishin; USIA Director Wick; USSR Ambassador in the United States Dubinin; and U.S. Ambassador in the USSR Matlock. A message of greetings was read out from Nancy Reagan, wife of the U.S. President, to the participants in the show.

Lucie Jarvis, producer of the show, and Mikhail Shatrov, secretary of the board of the USSR Union of Theatrical Workers, expressed their confidence that this joint production has paved the way to good cooperation between the artists of the two countries.

Reagan Lauds Policy of 'Position of Strength'

LD3009231188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1832 GMT 30 Sep 88

["Reagan Stands Up for 'Peace From a Position of Strength'"—TASS headline]

[Text] Washington, 30 Sep (TASS)—TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev reports that President Reagan today set out for Chicago to appeal to the local electorate to vote for Republican candidate George Bush in the forthcoming presidential election in November.

Addressing representatives of the community of Americans of Slavic origin, the President stood up for a continuation of the policy of "peace from a position of strength." "Today," he stated, "is the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Munich pact, a naive gesture of appeasement which led to the nightmare of the present century: World War II." "The lesson of Munich," the President continued, "is too important to forget. This sorrowful lesson is the fact that weakness is an invitation to war."

Remaining silent about the real state of affairs of the Munich pact, Reagan took advantage of the digression into history to attack the Democrats' election platform, accusing them of "forgetting the ancient principle of 'peace from a position of strength.'" The President asserted that, if the Democrats were to win the election, they "would not be prepared" to develop such strategic arms systems as the underwater-based ballistic "Trident" missiles and the new "Stealth" strategic bombers. They speak out against strategic defense, against nuclear missiles. They are against the B-1 bomber and the development of two aircraft carrier groups, said the President, trying once again to create the impression that the Democrats take "weak" stands on military and foreign policy issues.

"America should never be weak, it should always be strong," the President stated, affirming that this aim can only be attained by electing George Bush as the next U.S. president.

Bush, Dukakis Make 'Contradictory' Statements

LD0210030088 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 1 Oct 88

["Moscow Viewpoint" by Valentin Zorin]

[Text] The obvious contradictory nature of statements on relations with this country made by the two chief runners-up for the presidency, George Bush and Michael Dukakis, puzzles the Soviet people. On the one hand, the two speak about their support of the positive processes that have characterized Soviet-American relations lately. They reiterated that to the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze when they met him during his recent stay in America. On the other hand, these contenders for the president's post make repeated appeals in their pre-election statements that are typical of the cold war times.

What I have in mind is their statements about the need to rely on force as the chief element of American policies. George Bush has even revived the old slogan "Peace from a position of strength." I won't conceal from you that this repetition of old stereotypes arouses sad feelings. Obviously, there are quite a few people among the American voters who prefer to adhere to the old thinking and regard new systems of weapons and military might

as important factors of relations with other countries; otherwise there would have been no need for the contenders to resort to the lingo of the cold war period.

It seems that strategists of the Republican and the Democratic parties have made up their minds to please all the voters who welcome changes for the better in Soviet-American relations and also the effort to ease international tension, and the voters who oppose Soviet-American cooperation and the just-begun nuclear disarmament. Hence the contradictory nature of the statements made by the two contenders.

But there is one thing that we should bear in mind. The advances made by the contenders to the supporters of the policy "from a position of strength" are nothing but an act of courtesy to the war corporations who have turned the arms race into a source of enormous profits and who have pushed America to the track of confrontation on many occasions. This cannot help but alarm us. When the runners-up for the presidency speak about the benefits of Soviet-American cooperation or about peace from a position of strength, I doubt that they actually give preference to the spirit of military confrontation. That policy has been put to test already and its results are well known: the endless arms race, the deadlock in Soviet-American relations and the enhanced threat of war.

We've just embarked on the path of eliminating the consequences of this policy. Why should we return today to what has proved to be unsuitable and dangerous? Some may say that American pre-election rhetorics should not be overestimated. Well, it's true to some extent, but, I repeat, only to some extent. The trend for improving Soviet-American relations on the basis of cooperation, mutual understanding, and trust that's gaining momentum now and the fruits of this effort are too important for the peoples of the two countries to make them dependent on election campaigns.

Quayle Notes Conditions for Arms Treaty

LD0210174888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1330 GMT 2 Oct 88

[Text] New York, 2 Oct (TASS)—Senator Dan Quayle, the Republican Party candidate for U.S. vice president, has granted an interview to "THE NEW YORK TIMES" setting forth his position on arms control issues. He stated that if the Bush administration comes to power, it would have to reject the current White House approach to talks with the Soviet Union on reducing strategic offensive weapons and "slow them down," Quayle stated that "the United States should make the issue of completing the drafting of an agreement on a mutual reduction of strategic arms arsenals dependent on whether or not the USSR agrees to concessions in talks on conventional weapons." The vice presidential candidate proposed as the chief "argument" to justify such an approach the well-worn thesis of a supposed "considerable Soviet superiority in nonnuclear arms."

Commenting on Quayle's statements, "THE NEW YORK TIMES" notes that his proposal was already looked at repeatedly and was in the final analysis rejected by the Reagan administration as hopeless. The newspaper draws attention to the fact that in the matter of reducing strategic weapons, Quayle has adopted a noticeably less constructive position than even his senior partner in the election race, Vice President George Bush, who is refraining from such drastic statements. "THE NEW YORK TIMES" also recalls that for their part, the Democratic candidates M. Dukakis and L. Bentsen recently reiterated that should they win in the November presidential election, they will strive for the speediest conclusion of an agreement with the USSR on reducing strategic arsenals without any kind of extra conditions.

Analyst Assails 'Colossal' U.S. Defense Budget

LD2909212988 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 29 TASS—By TASS news analyst Valeriy Vavilov:

No changes are in sight as yet: The U.S. military budget for 1989 remains colossal—299.6 billion dollars. The appropriations for military construction called for by this budget remain to be considerable—9.01 billion dollars. U.S. President Reagan signed a respective bill. The appropriations set down for military construction envisage the building and modernization of a whole number of military facilities and bases both in U.S. territory and in NATO member countries, in Central America, and in the Asia- Pacific region. The outlays for military construction in Japan were not left without attention either—25.7 million dollars, in South Korea—65.2 million dollars, in the Philippines—some 50 million dollars.

In other words, the U.S. base policy remains to be the same. The wind of change seems not have reached the Pentagon corridors, the new political thinking has failed to affect its strategists.

So, inordinate funds are set aside once again for bases beyond the U.S. national borders, for their construction and modernization. The United States now has almost 1,600 military bases and facilities in the territories of over 30 states, at which about half a million American servicemen are stationed.

Their concentration in immediate proximity to the borders of the Soviet Union and other socialist states is especially high. An enormous force is deployed in the Pacific Ocean region, including in Japan, South Korea, and in the approaches to the Soviet Far East. A powerful force is active in Indian Ocean. Air routes linking American bases and stations in the Pacific and Indian Oceans run through the Subic Bay and Clark field military bases in the Philippines. They are also assigned the role of logistics support and operational backing of

the U.S. Armed Forces in the event of combat operations in the Asia-Pacific region. All this is explained as before by the need to defend the United States' vital interests against a Soviet threat.

The proposals of the Soviet Union, which holds that any military presence should be confined to national borders only, and, therefore, views military bases abroad as an anomaly, drew no response from the Pentagon. This is why the Soviet Union proposed abolishing foreign military presence and military bases in other countries' territory by the year 2000, and moving gradually, withdrawing step-by-step all armed forces (land troops, the airforce, the navy and others) from all military bases in other people's territories in all parts of the world.

The Soviet Union also proposed specific interim measures to attain this goal. The measures concerning the Asia-Pacific region are as follows: to conduct consultations on non-increase of naval forces, scaling down military confrontation, freezing and cutting down commensurably the naval and airforce levels, phasing ot the U.S. military bases in the Philippines and the Soviet material and technical supply station in Cam Ranh Bay, etc.

So far, these constructive proposals by the Soviet Union, which can be instrumental to relieving tensions and building a secure world, were ignored by Washington which, judging by the military budget, intends to continue steering the course of militarization, of preserving military bases in other people's territories and going ahead with the neo-globalist policy.

Draft U.S. Intelligence Budget Noted

PM0310090388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Money for Intelligence"]

[Text] Washington, 30 Sep—President Reagan signed on Thursday the draft law on intelligence appropriations for fiscal 1989, approved by both houses of the U.S. Congress. The funds allocated in accordance with this draft law are earmarked for the U.S. "intelligence community"—the CIA, the Defense Intelligence Agency, and the National Security Agency.

A statement by President Reagan disseminated by the White House emphasizes that this draft law "will strengthen the U.S. intelligence potential."

TASS Reports on U.S. 'Discovery' Mission

LD0210140288 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 2 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 2 TASS—The crew of the U.S. space shuttle Discovery conducted a series of laboratory experiments Saturday.

During the television transmission American specialists could observe the way the experiments to melt titanium and grow crystals in zero-gravity conditions were conducted. The disaster involving the space shuttle Challenger delayed for over two and a half years these experiments which had been planned long ago. The crew photographed the lines of the earth's horizon. Their pictures will help scientists to develop a sophisticated satellite control system. The astronauts also tested a new communication system meant to ensure the secrecy of the astronauts' talks.

The first half of the Discovery flight passed normally, specialists believe. True, the five spacemen feel some inconveniences: because of a fault in the cooling system the temperature in the spaceship cabin reaches plus 29 degrees centigrade.

The astronauts have already begun preparations for a return to the earth. They practised putting on the survival suits which were designed following the Challenger explosion. Each of such suits is equipped with a parachute, oxygen and food reserve, an inflatable boat and a radio station for sending signals of distress.

The astronauts' press conference is planned for Sunday and on Monday their ship should land at the U.S. Edwards Air Base, California.

China

PRC Envoy Interview on Possibility of Summit

LD0110102188 Moscow World Service in English 0710 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Excerpts] On 1 October it will be 39 years since the proclamation of the Peoples Republic of China. A meeting was held on the occasion at Friendship House in Moscow. A Radio Moscow correspondent has been there and brought back the following story:

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] [Unidentified correspondent] I took the occasion [the end of the meeting] to interview China's ambassador to the Soviet Union, Yu Hongliang. My first question was—what has changed lately in Soviet-Chinese relations?

[Yu in Russian fading into English translation] Lately contacts between China and the Soviet Union have been advancing in all fields. There also seem to be good prospects for solving problems which still exist in our relations. I'd like to draw attention to the meeting in Beijing of deputy foreign ministers of the two countries and of course to the meeting of our foreign ministers in New York at the session of the United Nations General Assembly. China's foreign minister, Qian Qichen, will visit the USSR before the end of the year. All this shows that the level of the dialogue between the two countries is higher now.

[Unidentified correspondent] And what was the response in China to the proposals advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev in his recent speech in Krasnoyarsk?

[Yu] We took notice of Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Krasnoyarsk. The Chinese leaders have repeatedly called for holding a summit between the two countries. Joint efforts are required to remove the difficulties that affect our relations and today there are excellent opportunities for overcoming those difficulties. We hope that Mikhail Gorbachev's statement will be backed by concrete action. If the present dynamics and developing relations between the two countries continue, the day will come when a summit becomes a reality. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Qian Qichen Visit To Help Prepare

LD0110134488 Moscow TASS in English 1207 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 1 TASS—As was already reported in the Soviet press, an agreement was reached at the meeting of foreign ministers of the USSR and China in New York on September 28 that Qian Qichen, minister of foreign affairs of China, will visit the Soviet Union before the end of this year.

The visit will help continue dialogue on ways of further developing Soviet-Chinese relations. An exchange of views between the ministers of foreign affairs will undoubtedly contribute to preparing a Soviet-Chinese summit.

The ministers will discuss at their talks the entire range of international and regional problems, including Kampuchean settlement, ways of strengthening peace and developing international cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region. The Soviet Union attaches much importance to extending dialogue with China, which was underscored again in Mikhail Gorbachev's recent speech in Krasnoyarsk.

Anniversary of Proclamation of PRC Marked

Friendship Societies' Soiree

PM3009140788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Sep 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Portentous Anniversary"]

[Text] The Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society organized a concert evening devoted to the 39th anniversary of the proclamation of the PRC 29 September.

S.L. Tikhvinskiy, chairman of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society Central Board, noted that the victory gained 39 years ago by the Chinese people under the leadership of the CPC in the struggle for their national and social liberation opened up the way to the building of a socialist society. Soviet people welcome the successes which the friendly country has achieved in modernizing its industry and agriculture and in boosting working people's living standards. The fact that Soviet-Chinese trade, economic, scientific, technical, and cultural links have been revived in recent years and that there is a gradual trend toward cooperation in the political sphere is gratifying. The two states have a united platform on a number of international problems, not least on the struggle for disarmament and the prevention of the threat of nuclear war. The Soviet Union advocates the establishment of genuinely friendly and good-neighborly relations with China.

Satisfaction With Ties Expressed

OW3009085988 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Text] A soiree was held on 29 September at the House of Friendship With Peoples of Foreign Countries to mark the 39th founding anniversary of the People's Republic of China. The following is a report on the soiree by our reporter:

Among those attending the soiree were Rogachev, deputy foreign minister of the Soviet Union; other responsible persons of the Soviet Foreign Ministry; members of the Central Board and activists of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society; Yu Hongliang, Chinese ambassador to the Soviet Union; staff members of the Chinese Embassy; and Chinese university students and trainees studying and receiving training in Moscow.

Academician Tikhvinskiy, chairman of the Central Board of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, made a greeting speech, congratulating the Chinese guests on the 39th founding anniversary of the People's Republic of China and wishing the Chinese people prosperity and happiness.

[Tikhvinskiy speaking in Russian fading into Mandarin translation] Academician Tikhvinskiy said: Thirty-nine years ago, on 1 October 1949, the rejoicing news of the birth of New China was proclaimed to the world from Tiananmen Square. The founding of People's China dealt a heavy blow at imperialism and crushed many imperialist sabotage activities in the Asia-Pacific. The Chinese people have never been alone and without help in their struggle for socialism. They have always enjoyed international support and assistance from the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Comrade Tikhvinskiy continued: Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese people have made amazing achievements in transforming their society according to the principles of socialism. The Soviet people wish the Chinese people new success in modernizing their country.

Tikhvinskiy expressed satisfaction with the development of Soviet-Chinese relations in all fields. The Soviet people, he said, support the line carried out by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government aimed at developing goodneighborliness and cooperation between the Soviet Union and China.

In conclusion, Academician Tikhvinskiy said that the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society has made contributions to the implementation of this line and will continue to contribute to it in the future.

The soiree ended with a concert by Soviet artists.

Presidium, Government Send Message

PM3009174188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 88 First Edition p 1

["USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers Greetings Message to Chinese Leaders on Anniversary"]

[Text] To Comrade Yang Shangkun, president of the PRC

Comrade Wan Li, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress

Comrade Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers send to you and through you to the whole Chinese people cordial greetings and best wishes on the occasion of the 39th anniversary of the proclamation of the PRC.

The creation of the PRC was a turning point in the country's destiny. Prospects emerged for the elimination of social inequality, the overcoming of economic backwardness, the Chinese people's spiritual emancipation, and China's full participation in international affairs as befits a great nation.

It is gratifying for us to perceive that, thanks to radical reforms, the PRC's advance along its chosen path was noticeably accelerated in the last decade. Soviet people follow with sympathy the activity of China's working people to modernize their motherland, and they believe that the similarity of the tasks being resolved in the USSR and the PRC offers broad opportunities for mutually advantageous cooperation between the two neighboring socialist states and for exchange of experience.

Thanks to efforts by both sides, there are many changes for the better in Soviet-Chinese relations. People in the USSR note with gratification the dynamic and stable development of ties in the spheres of the economy, science, culture, education, and sport and through state and public organizations, and they welcome the expansion of exchanges of opinions on international questions.

The deepening of friendship and good-neighborliness with the PRC is the Soviet Union's principled line and an inalienable part of the new political thinking. We advocate further progress in relations with the PRC.

We wish you and the whole Chinese people new successes, peace, and prosperity.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The USSR Council of Ministers

Economic, Social Headway Noted

LD3009231988 Moscow TASS in English 2304 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Text] Beijing October 1 TASS—On October 1 the People's Republic of China will observe the 39th anniversary of its creation. The capital of the country, the same as other Chinese cities, is decorated in a festive way. Posters say that concerts of professional and amateur artists will be given at Beijing theatres, stages and stadiums. By traditions, Chinese working people will spend the holiday in numerous parks and recreation zones.

By this year's anniversary the Chinese people made an obvious headway in social and economic spheres. Results of the implementation of a reform in the past decade are being summed up and plans of its further deepening are being worked out. The restructuring of the system of prices and wages is the most important and at the same time the most difficult task on the present stage. It will be put into effect next year and, as the leaders of the country pointed out on more than one occasion, it would become a key element of the overall reorganization of the economic system.

The Chinese people who are busy implementing ambitious tasks of socialist development, as well as their leaders are working today for the improvement of the international situation. Mutually advantageous relations between China and the Soviet Union became much more active in various spheres. Encouraging results were achieved in economic, scientific and technical cooperation of the two countries.

The past four decades were a complicated period for the People's Republic of China that was full of accomplishments and serious setbacks. However the developments of the past several years have proved that China has found strength for a difficult, but confident advance along the path of the building of socialism with Chinese characteristic features.

'Deepening Friendship' Noted

LD3009105688 Moscow TASS in English 1047 GMT 30 Sep 88

["China Marks its 39th Anniversary"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 30 TASS—TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

The victory gained by the Chinese people led by the Chinese Communist Party in the struggle for their national and social liberation 39 years ago opened the way for building a socialist society in China. The Soviet Union thinks highly of the results achieved by China over the years of socialist development. It is glad that Soviet-Chinese ties have markedly improved in recent years and that a trend towards political cooperation has taken shape.

Deepening friendship and good-neighbourly relations with China is a fundamental policy of the Soviet Government, an integral part of new political thinking. The Soviet Union believes that at present there are no objective impediments to developing ties with China. The existence of differences and various points of view over a number of issues is normal in relations between two countries.

The Soviet side favours a full political dialogue with China on any issues of mutual interest and at any level. The Soviet Union is ready to start immediate preparations for a Soviet-Chinese summit.

The Soviet Union and China maintain ties and contacts in practically all spheres of interstate relations. Mutually beneficial economic ties are assuming a more stable character and ties between border regions are developing dynamically. A more simple way of getting entry-exit visas is to contribute to expanding and searching for new forms of cooperation. Border talks are going on in a calm and business atmosphere.

The Soviet Union and China have recently agreed to exchange the visits of their foreign ministers. Specifically, it was agreed that the Chinese foreign minister would visit the Soviet Union before the end of the year. The foreign ministries of both countries hold regular consultations on specific international issues, including the U.N. activities.

The Soviet Union believes that positive processes in relations between such major countries as the Soviet Union and China affect directly the improvement of the situation not only in the Asia-Pacific region, but in the whole world.

Maslyukov at Embassy Reception

PM0310100388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 30 September Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the USSR, held a reception to mark the 39th anniversary of the proclamation of the PRC—the country's national holiday.

The reception was attended by Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Z.K. Kamalidenov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; leaders of a number of ministries and departments; and other officials.

Li Peng Hosts Beijing Reception

PM0310100588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "On Occasion of Anniversary"]

[Text] Beijing, 30 Sep—Li Peng, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee and premier of the PRC State Council, held a reception here today to mark the 39th anniversary of the formation of the PRC.

In a speech at the reception the head of the Chinese Government characterized the reform that is being carried out in China.

Assessing the international situation, Li Peng stated that a trend toward detente is being observed at present. The signing between the USSR and the United States of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan which has begun, and the opportunities which have appeared for a political settlement of the situation in some of the world's trouble spots merit approval. We, the premier said, hope for the development of Sino-U.S. relations and the earliest normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations.

CPC Plenum Hears Zhao Report on Economy

PM0310101188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Plenum Over"]

[Text] Beijing, 30 Sep—The 3d Plenum of the CPC Central Committee, 13th Convocation, completed its work here today. The plenum participants discussed and approved a report delivered on behalf of the Politburo by Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee.

The communique issued on the results of the plenum's work says that main emphasis is to be placed on improving economic conditions and the economic order with the aim of reducing the scale of social consumption and curbing inflation.

Great attention, the communique notes, should also be paid to the problem of separating administrative and economic functions at enterprises.

The communique stresses the need to enhance party leadership, which is required to guarantee the successful implementation of the tasks put forward. The plenum participants noted the importance of the all-around intensification of democratic control and the use of the law and of administrative and educational measures to "overcome corruption."

The plenum approved in the main a "preliminary program for the reform of prices and wages."

Sino-Soviet Ties Considered at Vladivostok Forum

Official on Border Trade

OW0310020188 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Text] An international conference called Asian-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace and Cooperation was held in Vladivostok on 1 October. A press conference devoted to the meeting pointed out the considerable intensification of economic relations between the Soviet Union and China.

Lutsenko, chairman of the Maritime Krayispolkom Soviet of People's Deputies, said that economic relations between the Soviet Maritime Kray and Chinese border areas had rapidly expanded after the adoption of the USSR Law on State Enterprise. The volume of direct goods turnover rose dozens of times in a matter of months. In one border district Chinese construction workers are erecting a brickyard. Contracts were signed or are being drafted for signing to implement several joint projects in agriculture, trade, and public catering.

The press conference pointed out that the volume of economic relations between border areas of the Soviet Union and China reached 80 million rubles.

Primakov, president of the Soviet National Committee on Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation, pointed out that the total volume of economic relations between the Soviet Union and China is expected to reach 1.8 billion rubles this year.

Improved Economic Ties Noted

LD0110152088 Moscow TASS in English 1111 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Text] Vladivostok October 1 TASS—By TASS special correspondents:

Participants in a press conference in Vladivostok which was devoted to the representative international conference "Asian-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace and Cooperation," spoke of considerable intensification of economic relations between the USSR and China.

Valeriy Lutsenko, chairman of the Maritime Territorial Executive Committee of People's Deputies, said that economic relations between Soviet maritime territory and Chinese border provinces had rapidly expanded after the adoption of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (amalgamation). The volume of direct goods turnover rose dozens of times in a matter of months. The cooperation is primarily implemented through a system of consumers' cooperatives. In border district Chinese builders are erecting a brick works. Contracts were signed or are being drafted for signing to implement several joint projects in agriculture, trade and public catering.

The press conference was told that now the volume of economic relations between the USSR and China reached 80 million roubles only under agreements between border districts.

"As for the total volume of economic relations between the USSR and China, it is expected that this year it will reach the level of 1.8 billion roubles. This is not the limit," noted Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, president of the Soviet national committee on Asian-Pacific economic cooperation.

'Atmosphere of Mutual Trust' Along China Border

OW0210054088 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Now we would like to discuss an article carried by a Moscow Komsomol journal on 27 September entitled: "China Is on the Other Side." The article focused on the situation along the Soviet-Chinese border.

Colonel (Turstanov), chief-of-staff of the Headquarters of the Soviet Far Eastern Border Military District, told a station reporter that there are now more contacts between the border personnel of the two countries, reflecting an atmosphere of mutual trust. Col (Turstanov) said: Recently the Chinese authorities have markedly strengthened public order to prevent people from crossing the border. The problem is, Chinese inhabitants often come over to the Soviet side to fish and recover the lumber drifting along the Amur River. (Turstanov) pointed out: The lumber recovered may serve as a supplementary income for the Chinese inhabitants. Naturally those who cross the border are detained by us, but we immediately turn them over to the Chinese side.

We believe that generally speaking, the border situation is fine. Our Chinese neighbors have also realized that as long as both sides work hard together, we will definitely be able to solve all problems. We can overcome difficulties by increasing our contacts and enhancing mutual understanding.

Northeast Asia

Gorbachev Greets Vladivostok Forum on Asia

PM0310081588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[Undated message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to participants in a Vladivostok international forum "The Asia-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace, and Cooperation"]

[Text] To the participants in the International Meeting "The Asia- Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace, Cooperation"

I cordially greet the participants in the meeting "The Asia-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace, Cooperation." It is gratifying that prestigious scientists, social and political figures, representatives of business circles, cultural workers, and journalists from more than 30 countries responded to the appeal to discuss the diverse problems of the Asia-Pacific region in a friendly and informal atmosphere and in a spirit of openness characteristic of the new thinking and to exchange opinions on the prospects for its development in conditions of peace and cooperation beneficial to all its peoples.

It is deeply symbolic that the meeting is being held in Vladivostok—the city which we historically regard as our country's gateway to the Far East. The Soviet Union is a Eurasian state. And we want our country to be a secure bridge linking the two great continents on the economic, cultural, and humanitarian planes. We shall make every effort to ensure that all the "curtains" both invented and real—the iron curtain, the bamboo curtain, and all the rest—are consigned to oblivion as quickly as possible. This would be an important contribution to the creation of a world free of nuclear weapons and violence which the Soviet Union's specific proposals and initiatives are designed to build.

I wish the participants in the meeting fruitful discussions and good impressions of their visit to the Soviet Far East.

M. Gorbachev

Shevardnadze, Japan's Kuriyama Hold UN Talks

OW0210053688 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1200 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Olgin commentary]

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze held talks with Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Kuriyama in New York the other day. Here with a commentary on the talks is our foreign affairs observer Olgin:

It has already become a customary practice to hold such individual meetings at the UN General Assembly. And even amid reports of the emperor's illness this year, this tradition has been continued. As is known, Foreign Minister Uno cancelled his visit to New York due to the emperor's critical condition, and Vice Foreign Minister Kuriyama was appointed to lead the Japanese delegation to the UN General Assembly sessions. Vice Foreign Minister Kuriyama held talks with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Petrovskiy on 26 September and then with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze on 27 September, the following day.

These talks between the Soviet and Japanese foreign affairs officials were held for only a short time and could not be considered official. However, as a matter of fact, such talks have been held regularly since 1974. At these talks, Soviet and Japanese leaders have exchanged views on actual international issues and various vital issues existing in bilateral relations.

At the current talks, Vice Foreign Minister Kuriyama handed Foreign Minister Uno's personal letter over to Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. In his personal letter, Uno indicated Japan's position of welcoming the Soviet intention of developing its relations with Japan as described in General Secretary Gorbachev's recent speech at Krasnoyarsk. The personal letter confirms Japan's intention to further promote regular dialogue with the Soviet Union. In his personal letter, Foreign Minister Uno also stressed the importance of Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to Japan.

As is known, an agreement was reached in 1986, in principle, for Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to visit Japan. Nevertheless, due to various circumstances, the agreement failed to materialize. Even the most substantial developments in the dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States have failed to help bring about implementation of the agreement. However, an agreement on the timing for Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's official visit to Japan was finally reached at the current talks in New York. According to the agreement reached between the two countries, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will visit Japan from 19 to 21 December. It is beyond any doubt that this visit will be a major event in the bilateral relations. Soviet-Japanese relations will probably enter an important stage of promoting the dialogue and developing mutual understanding.

The current agreement reached on the Japan visit is of great significance. However, there is much more to this agreement reached at the talks in New York. Signs of favorable changes in bilateral relations can perhaps be noticed in this agreement. For example, at the talks between Kuriyama and Petrovskiy, deputy foreign ministers of the two countries, an accord was reached on promoting various activities at the government level. In particular, an accord was reached on holding consultations on trade and economic issues existing between the two countries in late October and on holding sessions of the Soviet-Japanese Committee on Cooperation in Science and Technology. In addition, an accord was reached on starting working-level consultations on holding the

first session of the Soviet-Japanese cultural committee in Moscow in November. This year, we have many programs ahead of us that will be favorable to the advancement of Soviet-Japanese relations.

These programs should be carried out for the purpose of promoting the bilateral relations in various fields. It is strongly hoped that the promotion of these programs will contribute to strengthening the positive advance of Soviet-Japanese relations as well as to leading bilateral relations toward steady development.

Rogachev Meets Japanese Researcher in Moscow

OW0210055188 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Text] Yesterday, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev met with Ichiro Suetsugu, chief of the secretariat of the Asia-Pacific Security Conference of Japan's Society of Researchers on Security Issues. At the meeting, views were exchanged on urgent issues concerning the situation in the Far East and Asia-Pacific region as stated in the new Soviet proposals made by General Secretary Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk.

Japan Urged To Reduce Military Exercises

OW0210132588 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Kalinin commentary]

[Text] Listeners, the Japanese Naval Forces are scheduled to hold a large-scale naval maneuver from 28 September to 12 October. In this connection, our military commentator Kalinin comments as follows:

The spokesman of the joint staff councils of the Defense Agency [DA] and the Maritime Self-Defense Force [MSDF] announces that the current maneuvers are merely routine exercises included in the MSDF maneuver program. However, this statement is somehow not convincing to us.

In fact, the maneuvers were scheduled to be held and announced in April. Nevertheless, it seems rather impossible to disguise these maneuvers as routine exercises.

First of all, the size of the exercises has drawn attention. In carrying a report on the exercises in April, SANKEI SHIMBUN pointed out that the MSDF would launch the largest maneuvers in its history this fall. As disclosed later, more than four-fifths of the total Japanese naval forces, including 140 vessels and submarines, 170 airplanes, and 35,000 personnel, will be mobilized. Moreover, this naval maneuver will take place simultaneously with a large scale Air Force exercise.

In addition, the maneuver's timing has aroused suspicion. According to the official announcement, since these types of maneuvers are held once every five years, the MSDF could have freely chosen the most appropriate timing. Nevertheless, it turns out that the maneuver was intentionally made to coincide with the Seoul Olympics. Judging from every angle, it seems that the timing was selected for a certain purpose.

As is known to all, the United States has concentrated a large fleet off the coasts of the Korean peninsula under the pretext of providing security in the region during the Seoul Olympics. It is also widely known that Japan has taken over from the U.S. Navy the burden of defending the sealanes within 1,000 miles of Japan. Thus, one cannot but interpret the current naval maneuver as indicating Japan's readiness to take joint actions with the United States in the event of a so-called emergency in the vicinity of the Korean peninsula and also to take over the U.S. role whenever necessary.

This point will be clear when the Japanese naval forces' maneuvering scenario is taken into consideration. According to the scenario, the MSDF fleet will on 5 October be joining the U.S. Seventh Fleet, with the aircraft carrier "Midway", now sailing northward off the coasts of the Korean peninsula, as its flagship. However, the Japanese Government insists that the current exercise has nothing to do with the Seoul Olympics at all. But this cannot convince even South Korea. In this connection, it is certainly no coincidence that South Korean demonstrators burned both the Japanese and American flags in their protests against the exercises.

Here, I would also like to point out that the Japanese naval forces are conducting this large-scale maneuver while the world, including Asian nations, are actively carrying on their discussions of the new peace proposals made by General Secretary Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk. Included in these Soviet proposals is the issue of freezing and reducing naval forces as well as limiting military aggressiveness by the major naval states in the Asia-Pacific region. The proposal specifically names Japan as one of the major naval states.

Since every nation is entitled to its own opinions, some nations may disagree with the Soviet proposals in some respects. However, if a nation truly wants to seek security in the international community, is it not wise for that nation to demonstrate its views at the negotiating table? This, more than anything else, is what the Soviet Union is calling for.

President's Visit to DPRK 'Postponed'

LD0110082288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Text] The visit of the president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to the DPRK is being postponed to a later date, which will be agreed upon in due course between the Soviet and Korean sides.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Moscow Interviews Lao Leader Kaysone Phomvihan

BK0110070988 Moscow in Lao to Laos
1300 GMT 29 Sep 88

["Interview Granted by Kaysone Phomvihan, General Secretary of the LPRP Central Committee and Chairman of the LPDR Council of Ministers, to a Moscow Radio Correspondent" on 29 September, place not given—recorded]

[Text][Interviewer] Mr Kaysone Phomvihan, how have the new changes in Laos been carried out?

[Kaysone Phomvihan] The new changes in our country were originated experimentally in 1985. When the 4th LPRP Congress was convened in 1986, a guideline for effecting all-around changes was worked out. It was the application of the Leninist spirit of new economic policy to the socioeconomic reality in Laos in a manner that is correct and in conformity with the new thinking. After 2 years of practical experience, the fifth and sixth plenums of the party Central Committee, respectively convened in January and June 1988, transformed this policy into concrete details by defining them into the three major problems, namely, the policy with regard to the economic structure, the restructuring of economic management mechanism, and the raising of the efficiency of organizational and executive activity.

Our economic structure is one that combines agriculture, forestry, industry, and service sectors by using the agriculture and forestry sector as a foundation. To transform the structure of subsistence economy into one of socialist-oriented commodity production economy, we have worked out three basic measures as follows: first, to introduce trading activity in the countryside and up mountainous regions; second, to broaden communications and transport networks; and third, beginning with farming families, to gradually transform each family into a unit for commodity production. At the same time, we have also implemented a policy of distributing and leasing land to each family in proportion with their labor, thus allowing them to be lasting masters of the land and to possess the right of land ownership transfer in accordance with the law. The state must establish relations with farmers through trade, credits, and two-way services. The state must utilize, promote, and develop various economic sectors, aimed at vigorously promoting production development and reclassifying social work. This is a decisive basic factor for our country to advance toward socialism.

At the same time, we also attach great importance to the broadening of our economic relations and cooperation with foreign countries through various forms in accordance with the business accounting mechanism and on the basis of considering the actual capabilities of each side, ensuring efficiency, equality, and mutual benefits. Recently, we put into effect a law on foreign investment in the LPDR.

With regard to the restructuring of our economic management mechanism, we are resolved to do away with the administrative-bureaucratic state subsidy economic mechanism and to switch to the socialist business accounting mechanism by attaching importance to the utilization of the commodity-money relations and by harmoniously combining the three types of interests, that is those of society, of collectivization, and of laboring people. We regard the interests of the laboring people as a direct support and beginning point. At the same time, we also correctly implement the principles of democratic centralism and apply economic methods in managing the economy. Along this line, we have remodified the policies regarding the economic levers in a comprehensive manner. First of all, we have implemented a policy of one price and one rate for currency exchange and a new policy on taxation which will be applied in an equal manner to all economic sectors. We have broadened goods circulation in a free and legitimate manner, switched finance work to the contracting mechanism, and switched banking to business accounting.

To successfully apply the new economic management mechanism, the most important thing is to clearly define the two management roles, that is the executive management role of all state management organizations and the business production management role of grass-roots economic units. This means that the grass-roots economic units have the right to mastership in an all-round and comprehensive manner. First of all, they are the masters of their own finance work. They are their own masters in balancing (?their budgets) and in organizing the implementation of plans in accordance with the overall direction and the guidance information of state management organizations.

Over the past 2 years, we have paid attention to educating the entire party and masses to appreciate the new thinking and new mechanism. At the same time, we have also modified party and state organizational apparatuses and working patterns.

It can be said that the new changes have promoted new development in our national economy. As a result, the material, cultural, and spiritual life of the people has been improved. The faith of the masses in the party leadership has also become firmer than before.

[Interviewer] Mr Kaysone Phomvihan, what is your opinion on the direction of development of cooperation between the LPDR and the USSR and the other socialist countries in the future?

[Kaysone Phomvihan] Over the past 13 years, the assistance and cooperation rendered to our country by the Soviet Union has been enormous and comprehensive

and has amounted to more than one half of the total assistance and cooperation given to the LPDR by foreign countries. This assistance and cooperation served to build a number of material and technical foundations for our national economy.

Under the conditions of new [words indistinct], the two sides—Laos and the Soviet Union—have unanimously agreed to modify the mechanism of mutual cooperation and relations in the economic field with a view to making it more efficient than before. In the future, we will increase our economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries through various forms, such as the form of (?contracting) construction, the form of combined enterprises, the form of direct business relations among the enterprises of all parties, the form of direct mutual trading among trading organizations of all parties, the form of concessions. Some of these forms have already been implemented and have brought about actual fruits for the cooperation parties concerned.

[Interviewer] Mr Kaysone Phomvihan, what is your opinion about the new initiatives on the Asia-Pacific region advanced by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev?

[Kaysone Phomvihan] The Asia-Pacific region is the most densely populated region in the world. It is rich with natural resources. It is also one of the world's largest places for storing destructive weapons. It was the first region which was victimized by atomic bombs. Moreover, over the past 40 years since the end of World War II, several countries, including the three Indochinese countries, were heavily devastated by the consequences of wars. For this reason, all countries in the region are strongly desirous of peace for the sake of national construction and development and strengthening trade, cooperation, and friendly relations. The Vladivostok statement correctly portrays realities in the Asia-Pacific region. We are pleased to witness the positive trend of the situation in this region in conformity with the said statement. The LPDR wholeheartedly hails the new Soviet peace initiative put forth by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk, another clear manifestation of the Leninist peace policy being consistently implemented by the Communist Party and Government of the Soviet Union. It is a concrete step to obstruct the nuclear arms race, encourage disarmament, limit and eliminate the factors which can lead to military conflicts, promote mutual trust and cooperation on the basis of equal footing, mutual interest, and peaceful coexistence among the states and parties in the Asia-Pacific region.

Firmly adhering to its own foreign policy, the LPDR has coordinated with the SRV and PRK to turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability, and cooperation free from nuclear weapons. We will continue our movements toward this direction as our contribution to the materialization of the comprehensive peace and security program in the Asia-Pacific region.

[Interviewer] Mr Kaysone Phomvihan, how do you evaluate your visit to the Soviet Union?

[Kaysone Phomvihan] My working visit to the Soviet Union has been a very pleasing success. The meetings I had with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and Comrade Ryzhkov proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality, friendship, and sincerity and enabled me to understand more about the implementation of perestroyka in the Soviet Union and all the duties now being carrying out by the entire Soviet party and people. I am of the opinion that perestroyka in the Soviet Union has provided many excellent lessons for us in our current effort to bring about new comprehensive change. The meetings with the two leaders have reaffirmed once again the complete unanimity in connection with various issues raised up, in particular the direction, principle, and patterns of relations in depth for the period to come between the two countries in line with the new mechanism for securing economic and political efficiency.

Death of Vietnam's Truong Chinh Noted

LD0110200388 Moscow TASS in English 1958 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Text] Hanoi October 1 TASS—Truong Chinh, former general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and chairman of Vietnam's State Council, died at the age of 81 here Friday, the VIETNAM NEWS AGENCY reported today.

In the last few years, Truong Chinh was adviser of the CPV Central Committee.

Commentary on Political Settlement in Cambodia

OW0310021088 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Bortsov commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, the Cambodian question is one of the major issues of recent years which has drawn close attention from the Asia-Pacific countries. With help from a number of countries in the region, distinct progress has been made in a political settlement of the situation around Cambodia. Station observer Bortsov writes in this connection:

[Words indistinct] the trend of exploring ways for compromise and constructive cooperation is gradually replacing that of confrontation. It can be said that this trend prevailed in Geneva while seeking an agreement on Afghanistan. As people know, an important agreement on Afghanistan was signed in Geneva. This agreement has opened a way for a political settlement of a sharp regional conflict and has set a good example for solving other complicated problems with a constructive attitude.

Now it is time to deal with the Cambodia question. People in the Asia-Pacific region hope that the Cambodia question will be justly solved as soon as possible. They not only hope so but also exert themselves to make things develop smoothly.

In his recent Krasnoyarsk speech, Soviet leader Comrade Gorbachev pointed out: Thanks to the efforts of Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos, as well as Indonesia and other ASEAN countries, progress has been made with regard to the Cambodian question. He stressed that an informal meeting recently held in Jakarta, Indonesia, was an important event and set a very useful example. The Soviet Union is ready to work for an agreement on the Cambodian question at an early date.

The proposal to hold that informal meeting of various parties involved in the Cambodian conflict was put forward by Vietnam and Indonesia. Facts have proved this proposal correct. The participants of the informal meeting in Bogor, Indonesia, reached a consensus on these issues: Withdrawing Vietnamese troops from Cambodia and ensuring the prevention of the bloody Pol Pot clique's return to the country are two interrelated key issues. It also should be guaranteed that the supply of foreign weapons to the antigovernment forces is stopped.

The Bogor meeting decided to set up a four-party work team, which will make suggestions on the next similar meeting. The work team held its first meeting in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe, in August. It should hold its second meeting in Jakarta on 18 October.

It can be seen from a statement by the initiators of the Bogor meeting that Moscow, Washington, and Beijing have all expressed their willingness to promote a political settlement of the Cambodian question. In his Krasnoyarsk speech, Comrade Gorbachev reaffirmed such willingness.

Vietnam has taken a constructive stance on the Cambodian question. While visiting the Soviet Union not long ago, Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the Vietnamese Council of State, welcomed the success of the informal Jakarta meeting and the agreements reached at the meeting. He also welcomed the constructive efforts of nonaligned and other concerned countries to seek a political settlement of the Cambodian question. In one of his Moscow speeches, Vo Chi Cong stressed: As we have stated, Cambodia and Vietnam have decided that the Vietnamese volunteers will be withdrawn from Cambodia by the end of 1989 at the earliest and by the first quarter of 1990 at the latest.

The timetable for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops should be linked to stopping military aid to the Cambodian reactionaries and stopping outside interference in Cambodia's internal affairs. However, it appears that this is not quite the case. For all the countries of that region, these matters are obviously important. The Cambodian question and the source of military tension along the Cambodian-Thai border adversely affect the good-neighbor relations between the Indochinese countries and the ASEAN states. In addition, the Cambodian question obstructs Southeast Asia from becoming a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality, for which the countries of that region yearn. Settling these issues will improve the political climate of Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region as a whole and promote the development of good-neighbor relations, mutual benefit, equality, and cooperation among the countries of the region.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze, Wakil Discuss New York Talks

PM0310075988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ministers' Meeting"]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, met 'Abdul Wakil, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan, who made a brief stopover in Moscow en route to Kabul from the UN General Assembly session in New York.

The ministers exchanged views on the progress of the work at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly and noted that the current forum of the international community vividly reflects the steady growth of peacemaking desires and the longing of the world's nations for a restructuring of relations among states on the principles of the new political thinking. The Afghan side expressed full support for the foreign-political initiatives submitted at the session by the Soviet Union, which are aimed at setting up a comprehensive system of international security and disarmament, and at enhancing the United Nations' effectiveness. The sides stressed that a universal recognition of the concept of the primacy of international law in world politics would be of fundamental significance for a radical reconstruction of mutual relations between countries, and would promote an increase in mutual understanding. [TASS International Service in Russian at 1749 GMT on 1 October carries a similar report on the meeting between Shevardnadze and Wakil. TASS renders the preceding sentence: "The sides stressed that a universal recognition of the concept of the primacy of international law in world politics would be of fndamental significance for a radical reconstruction of mutual relations between peoples and would lead to a lowering of the level of tension and confrontation, both on a global and on a regional scale."]

The Soviet foreign minister stressed that matters pertaining to a normalization of the Afghanistan situation occupied a central place in his talks with the U.S. leadership in Washington and in his conversations in New York with the foreign ministers of various states, including Pakistan and Iran. During these talks and conversations, the Soviet side constantly put forward the view that everything must be done to promote the

development of peaceful processes in Afghanistan and to create conditions for ending the enmity and bloodshed. Note was made of the positive role played in this by the Afghan leadership and by President Najibullah. Eduard Shevardnadze informed 'Abdul Wakil that the matter of Pakistan's persistent violations of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan was raised by the Soviet side at the meeting between the foreign ministers of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and the UN secretary general on 28 September in New York. In connection with this, the UN secretary general has instructed the leadership of the United Nations mission for monitoring adherence to the Geneva agreements to prepare a report on progress in fulfilling them.

Reaffirming the great importance of the Geneva agreements on a political settlement of the Afghanistan situation, the ministers stressed that because of Pakistan's obstructionist approach there is now a real danger of the agreements being wrecked. This may result in adverse consequences of unpredictable magnitude for the stability, not only of that area of the world, but possibly far beyond its boundaries.

[TASS adds: "During a discussion of matters pertaining to Soviet-Afghan cooperation in various spheres, the Afghan side was informed about the work under way in the Soviet Union in preparation for participation in the conference of donors to UN humanitarian and economic assistance programs for Afghanistan, which is to be held in the near future.

["The ministers also discussed certain other matters of mutual interest pertaining to bilateral and international relations."]

The meeting passed in a friendly atmosphere.

Wakil Addresses UN on Afghanistan Situation
LD0110001088 Moscow TASS in English 2301 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Text] New York October 1 TASS—"The signing of the Geneva agreements on the situation relating to Afghanistan was hailed by the international community as a historic achievement. Based on the principles of the United Nations Charter, particularly the principles of non-intereference and non-intervention, the agreements map out a comprehensive political settlement which is in the interests of not only the people of Afghanistan but also fo the peoples of the entire region and the cause of international peace and security," 'Abdul Wakil, Afghan minister of foreign affairs, said in a speech at the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly on Friday.

"The Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union have strictly abided by the provisions of the agreements," he emphasized. "The return of Soviet troops from Afghanistan commenced on May 15, 1988, and fifty per cent of the troops were withdrawn by August 15, as provided for by the agreements."

"However, much to our regret, after four and a half months of the entry into force of the agreements, the hopes of the people of Afghanistan, indeed, the whole of the entire international community—for the restoration of peace in our country have not yet materialized. War and bloodshed have not subsided. People are being killed, public and private property destroyed and acts of terror are perpetrated by extremists armed opposition. Kabul, and a number of other cities, have come under constant barrage of rockets. Seven hundred and sixty innocent civilians, including women and children have fallen victim to this blind barriage of rockets. Three hundred and forty-six houses and 45 public buildings have been destroyed," the minister said.

The main cause of this situation is the non-implementation of the Geneva agreements by the other main signatory of the agreement and open violation of the spirit of Geneva by it. Centres of training, arming and equipping of armed extremist groups have not been dismantled on Pakistani territory. One of the guarantors of the Geneva agreements, the United States, which undertook not to interfere in the affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan, is still continuing the dispatch of weapons and equipment to armed extremist groups, 'Abdul Wakil said.

The Government of Afghanistan has so far brought to the attention of the Government of Pakistan 547 cases of open violations through 87 notes, presented to UNGOMAP [UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan]. However, the other side has created serious obstacles for UNGOMAP's inspection of these violations. On the pretext of the existence of tribal conflicts and lack of security, the UNGOMAP is not permitted to visit areas used for the transfer of weapons into Afghanistan and where large depots of such weapons are located. Contrary to the provisions of the Geneva agreements, freedom of movement on the territory of Pakistan for UNGOMAP has not be granted. On the contrary, UNGOMAP has to request prior permission from the authorities of Pakistan before visiting areas from where violations are taking place. While the agreements provide that inspections should be completed in 48 hours, such permission for UNGOMAP visits takes from two to three weeks.

"We have recently proposed a meeting between the ministers of foreign affairs of the two main signatories and the two guarantors to review the process of the implementation of the agreement. Regrettably, however, Pakistan and the United States have not responded positively to this practical request".

"The other side has not shown readiness to implement the provisions concerning the return of Afghan refugees and the setting up of mixed commissions for facilitating the process. The Government of Afghanistan has taken

all necessary steps to receive the refugees: A ministry has been established for this purpose, which has so far welcomed 152,000 returnees. An agreement has been concluded with UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] and its office has been opened in Afghanistan. A similar agreement has been concluded with the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross]".

The policy of national reconciliation being pursued by the Afghan Government, 'Abdul Wakil said, has found its way to the minds and hearts of the Afghan people both inside and outside the country. After an interval of fifteen years, an elective parliament, in which different parties are represented, is functioning in the country. A new coalition government, including 18 non-party members out of a total of 31 members, has received the vote of confidence from the parliament.

The Afghan minister voiced hope that the new leadership in Pakistan would adopt a constructive position towards the elimination of the existing tense situation, and play its part in an improvement of relations between the two countries and the situation in the region through the strict implementation of the Geneva agreements.

"In the light of the signing of the Geneva agreements and the continued implementation of the policy of national reconciliation", 'Abdul Wakil said, "we do see any need for the discussion of item 30 on the agenda of this assembly. [sentence as received] It is our conviction, however, that any such discussion should focus on the need for strict implementation of the Geneva agreements".

Afghan Ministry Condemns U.S. Appointment

LD0110095888 Moscow TASS in English 0933 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 1 TASS—The appointment of Edmund McWilliams as special adviser of the U.S. ambassador in Pakistan on liaison with the intractable Afghan opposition will only lead to the worsening of the situation around Afghanistan. This step by the American leadership is direct violation of the Geneva accords by the state which has affixed its signature to the document as state guarantor, a spokesman for the Foreign Ministry of Afghanistan said in a statement here.

Washington has taken this step at a time when the overwhelming majority of countries support the Geneva accords as the basis for settling one of the most complex regional conflicts. In this connection, the statement runs, the Foreign Ministry of Afghanistan urges once again the United States to abide by the spirit and the letter of the agreements and stop interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

Rebel Activity Continues in Afghanistan

88th Protest Note Submitted

LD3009185088 Moscow TASS in English 1825 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul September 30 TASS—Battles between government troops and armed opposition continue in the Afghan provinces Konar and Qandahar. According to BAKHTAR news agency, nearly 50 extremists have been killed and wounded in the past twenty four hours in Asmar, Shin-Kowrak (Konar Province), Sarpuz and Arghandab (Qandahar Province). A rebel arms depot was found in the town Pol-e Khomri (Baghlan Province).

On September 28 extremists shelled Feyzabad, the administrative centre of Badakhshan Province, killing a child and seriously wounding two men.

The U.N. mission was informed about new facts of infiltration from Pakistan by antigovernment groups and convoys with arms into Afghan territory. The Foreign Ministry of Afghanistan stresses in its 88th note that actions by Pakistani authorities, aiding and abetting the crimes of terrorists, violate Geneva acords.

A convoy carrying arms and ammunition to Afghanistan was intercepted by the fighters of the Pashtun tribe Turi in the area of Teri-Mangal (north western border province of Pakistan). Having blocked the road to the border to the rebels' three trucks, Pashtuns burned them and killed 14 guards. BAKHTAR news agency says that the arms belonged to the Islamic Party of Afghanistan-IPA. The Turi tribe has stepped up combat operations against Hekmatyar's and Khalis' groups.

According to reports reaching here, mass demonstrations were held on Pakistani territory at the Shamshat refugee camp on September 17 to protest against the intractable position of IPA. The refugees demanded that the group stop fratricidal war and enter negotiations with the government.

At the same time refugees continue returning home. Recently 215 refugees returned into their native Qandahar. The authorities in this southern province rendered them material assistance and gave them transport.

Rockets Fired at Jalalabad

LD0210154488 Moscow TASS in English 1458 GMT 2 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 2 TASS—Jalalabad, the center of Nangarhar Province, came under massive rocket fire Saturday, which killed 17 city residents and heavily injured 34. Five people sustained injuries as a result of the rocket bombardment of the Afghan city of Khowst. A regular bus struck a mine planted by extremists in Rudat village, Nangarhar Province. Twenty passengers fell victim to this barbarous action.

On September 27, extremists stopped a bus near Robatak village, Samangan Province, which was running to Pul-i-Khomri. They took servicemen and members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan out of it and shot them dead. An attack on a bus was also staged in Soruwbi village, Kabul Province. Six passengers—workers on a hydroeletric station in Naghlu—were injured and two passengers were taken hostage by extremists.

Another crime, which was masterminded by the armed opposition, was prevented in Jalalabad. Thanks to the vigilance of security forces, an explosive device planted in the building of a city lyceum was timely defused. It is symptomatic that mostly civilians rather than servicemen fall victim to the extremists. For instance, the attacks staged by detachments of the armed opposition on September 29 killed or wounded 29 officers and men of the Armed Forces and the number of city dwellers and peasants killed in these attacks amounted to 40 people. Another 178 residents of cities and villages were injured.

According to military communiques, Afghan Army united conducted operations against anti-government forces in Kabul, Qandahar and Nangarhar provinces in the past 24 hours. A weapons depot belonging to an extremist group was seized in Bagrami village, Kabul Province. A large amount of large-calibre shells and mines bearing U.S. markings were confiscated. A group of terrorists armed with a missile launcher was rendered harmless near Qandahar. Some ten extremists were killed in Nangarhar.

The incoming information shows that Islamabad goes ahead with violating the Geneva agreements. Caravans with weapons arrived in the Afghan provinces of Kabul, Vardak and Paktia from Pakistani territory. New opposition formations which underwent training in over 200 camps in Pakistan penetrate Afghan territory with the caravans.

It is also reported that 25 Pakistani servicemen appeared in Chamkani village the other day. They joined a detachment of extremists. Under the strikes of Afghan troops, this detachment was forced to retreat to the other side of the border.

The new facts of Pakistan's interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan were set out in a new, 89th, note of the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan, which was handed over to the U.N. mission monitoring compliance with the Geneva accords.

It becomes evident to many of those who only recently supported the opposition that the fratricidal war has no sense. This was confirmed by a jirgah of tribes and elders of several Pashtun tribes in Qandahar. Discussing the situation formed, they came out against the escalation of hostilities and passed a decision to deny aid to detachments of extremists.

90th Protest Submitted

LD0310093788 Moscow TASS in English 0904 GMT 3 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 3 TASS—The die-hard opposition in Afghanistan has committed another barbarous action against civilians by firing ground-to-ground rockets into Jalalabad, capital of Nangarhar Province.

Fifteen rockets exploded in densely-populated areas of the city, killing five and wounding another 17 people. The casualties included women and children.

Security forces have detected and defused a car bomb in one of the districts in Jalalabad, BAKHTAR reported.

According to reports reaching here, members of the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" and the "Nasr" groups have clashed near the village of Dustiar in the area of Hazerehjat.

The "Nasr" men ambushed an arms convoy of the other group there, killing 42 persons (including foreign military advisers escorting the weapons), wounding 66 more and taking another 50 hostage.

Clashes between opposing groups have taken place also in Konduz, Samangan and Herat Provinces.

Afghan Army units, in the meantime, are continuing operations to clear armed opposition gangs from a number of areas. In Zabol, Qandahar and Helmand provinces 59 extremists have been killed and more than 30 wounded. Large amounts of weapons were seized.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry, meanwhile, has sent its 90th protest note to the group of U.N. monitors in Kabul. It cited data about Pakistani violations of the Geneva agreements and asked a careful investigation into those facts.

More than 280 people returned to Herat Province from Iran Sunday. Local authorities have given them essential aid.

Kornilov on Pakistani Violations of Accords

LD0210191488 Moscow TASS in English 1903 GMT 3 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 2 TASS—By TASS political analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

Another, 89th note containing facts of Pakistan's interference in Afghan affairs was forwarded by the Afghan Foreign Ministry to the U.N. mission monitoring implementation of the Geneva accords. The list of facts whose total number reaches now nearly 600, would take dozens of pages. Centres for training mutineers and saboteurs have been actively operating in Pakistan up to this time. Many mutineers are drilled by U.S. and Pakistan instructors. Islamabad helps supply extremists with new batches of weapons and military equipment, including antiaircraft rockets Stinger and Blowpipe. The Islamabad authorities prevent refugees from returning home. The formation of the so- called interim government in Pakistan is a glaring and crude violation of obligations taken under the "Geneva package." This "government" does not conceal its intentions to usurp power in a sovereign

country and, challenging generally recognized international rules and common sense, even demands that it be recognised as the "only legitimate representative" of the Afghan people.

An appropriate "propaganda support" is lended to the line for ignoring obligations under the "Geneva package." The method is old and well known: Evident and irrefutable facts are bypassed in silence and distorted, the black is passed for the white and vice versa. A speech by the Pakistani chief delegate at the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly in New York, which evoked puzzlement among other delegates, was delivered precisely in such a spirit. It is indicative that canards concocted in Islamabad, say a fabrication that the Afghan Air Force bombs the Pakistani territory, are readily picked up and circulated by some Western, above all American, organs of the mass media. Using such tall stories, enemies of a settlement seek, true in vain, to divert the attention of the public from their own unseemly operations. The following questions also comes involuntary to one's mind: how the circulation of deliberate canards can be tallied with the calls of the heads of the American information agency USIA for objectivity and honesty in the process of exchange of information, which they made at a recent Soviet-American meeting on information exchanges in Moscow?

The Afghan situation evokes a growing concern of the Soviet and international public. This is quite understandable: It is clear to any sober-minded person that a situation when one side fulfils assumed obligations and the other openly disregards and violates them, cannot go on indefinitely. This was pointed out by the foreign ministers of the USSR and Afghanistan during their meeting which was held in Moscow yesterday. The ministers noted that the real danger of thwarting the Geneva agreements could entail negative consequences, unpredictable for their scale, both for this region and, possibly, far beyond its borders.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Commentator Views Quadripartite Talks on Namibia

LD0110163588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Text] The UN Security Council has discussed the Namibian issue and has stressed the need for the soonest possible implementation UN Resolution 435 regarding the granting of independence to Namibia, which has been illegally occupied by the Republic of South Africa. Here is a commentary by Nadezhda Ryasova:

[Ryasova] Ten years have passed since Resolution 435 was passed, but through the fault of the South African racist regime and its Western partners, it still has not yet been implemented. Lately a certain hope has arisen for a swift decolonization of Namibia. This is one of the main issues at the quatripartite talks that have been taking place since May between representatives of Angola, Cuba, the RSA, and the United States on the problems of a settlement in southwest Africa. In August, at the latest round of talks in Geneva, the RSA promised to start implementing the resolution on 1 November of this year in order to hold general democratic elections under the supervision of the international community in Namibia next summer. It was intended that by 29 September—that is to say, by the 10th anniversary of Resolution 435—a final decision would be made at the quadripartite talks on the entire set of problems in southwest Africa.

But, alas, these expectations were not justified. Just yesterday the latest, seventh, round ended in Brazzaville, but the sides have still not come to a final decision. The talks are difficult. They are taking place behind closed doors; and so far it has been announced only that a new meeting is intended.

Last week, when UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar made a trip to the RSA, the Pretoria rulers claimed that they were ready to start the process of Namibia's decolonization on 1 November. What puts one on one's guard, however, is the fact that, as before, they are attempting to link the process of decolonization to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, this being to a tight schedule set by Pretoria itself. And, moreover, the RSA has now put forward a proposal for convening a so-called conference for national reconciliation with the participation of all Namibian political parties.

Regarding the schedule for the withdrawal of Cuban internationalists from Angola, as the ANGOP agency has stated, this is a matter only for Angola and Cuba. The governments of these countries, which have always displayed flexibility and readiness to search for just, peaceful solutions in Namibia, intend to look for a mutually acceptable solution, without prejudice, however for Angola's sovereignty and national security. And Pretoria's idea for a conference was rejected by the South West African People's Organization, SWAPO, which heads the Namibians' struggle for independence, which evaluated it as a political subterfuge with the object of impeding the holding of free, democratic elections in Namibia.

As is known, SWAPO announced a cease-fire from 1 September in order to assist a peaceful solution of the Namibian issue; and it is prepared to keep to this commitment, but only on condition that the RSA authorities display political will and respond with steps that show the seriousness of their intention to grant Namibia independence at last.

A general strike has been declared today in all of Namibia's major industrial centers in suport of the demand to stop procrastinating and urgently start decolonizing the country.

Petrovskiy Remarks on Cooperation With Nigeria

LD0110105288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Correspondent Vladimir Zhuravlev report from Lagos, Nigeria]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted: outline of Nigeria's socioeconomic and historical development] Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, recently paid an official visit to Nigeria. And in an interview for Moscow radio, he touched upon questions of Nigeria's international policy and Soviet-Nigerian relations. Over to him:

[Begin Petrovskiy recording] Soviet-Nigerian relations have now reached a new qualitative level. Possibilities are being opened up for agreement in the very near future on a consulate commission and the setting up of a mixed Soviet-Nigerian economic commission that could research the possibilities for new forms of cooperation and interaction on the economic front. And in international affairs our two countries, having approved the concept of the formation of an all-embracing security system, now agree that we must get down to specific deeds in strengthening the United Nations.

In a word, I see great prospects for the development of our relations which, I think, will serve not only our interests, but also the interests of the entire world community. [end recording]

East Europe

IZVESTIYA Cites GDR Paper on Honecker Visit

PM0310091188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Editorial"]

[Text] Berlin, 1 Oct—The friendly meetings in Moscow between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, are of far-reaching importance for the fraternal cooperation between the USSR and the GDR. This was stated in a NEUES DEUTSCHLAND editorial published today on the results of the GDR leader's working visit to the USSR. At the present moment, the newspaper stresses, these results are exceptionally important for resolving the tasks of socialist building in both countries and for strengthening cooperation and peace. During the meetings it was reemphasized that the combat unity of the CPSU and the SED on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism have been and remain the firm foundation of our alliance.

We wholeheartedly wish Soviet Communists and the entire Soviet people successes in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference, the article states. The success of restructuring in the USSR is exceptionally important not only for the Soviet Union itself, but also for strengthening peace and world socialism. The GDR is implementing profound political transformations and pursuing a course of unity between economic and social policy. The SED, recognizing its responsibility to the people and creatively applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism, will seek solutions that will accord with the general laws of socialism and the specific conditions and traditions of the GDR. And it will constantly pursue an exchange of opinions with the USSR and the other fraternal countries and learn from them, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND points out.

Voss, Delegation Return After Bulgarian Forum

LD2609101388 Moscow TASS in English 0936 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 26 TASS—The delegation of the USSR parliamentary group led by Avgust Voss, the group deputy chairman and chairman of the Soviet (Council) of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, returned to Moscow from Sofia Monday [26 September]. It took part in the 80th conference of the Interparliamentary Union.

Joint Trade Chamber Established With Bulgaria

LD2709213188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union have established a joint Chamber of Trade and Industry. An agreement on this was signed today.

[Correspondent Dmitriy Golovanov, identified by screen caption] It's no coincidence that Plovdiv was the place where this agreement was signed—the International Autumn Fair. As they say, all concerned persons have met here. [video shows interior of conference hall]

In this hall are all the chamber's founders. They are representatives of major Soviet and Bulgarian associations and enterprises—around 200 of them—as well as leaders of the national chambers of trade and industry. The main task of the new organization is to assist the development of effective forms of economic and scientific-technological cooperation, of direct links, and of the search for partners. [video shows interior of exhibition hall]

Here in the Soviet pavilion at the Plovdiv fair we can see the output of these joint firms. Avtoelektronika—the first enterprise with joint capital—produces electronic microprocessors for the latest Lada models. Interprogramma—a Bulgaro-Soviet research institute—prepares program products for design and construction. Lingvotekhnika is an international center for the application of automated technologies in document handling. Our trade turnover is now approaching R13 billion but

unfortunately, only R300 million goes to trade exchange between those who are engaged in various forms of direct links and have created joint enterprises and associations. This is very, very little.

[Begin P. Rusev recording, identified by screen caption as co-chairman of the Soviet-Bulgarian Chamber of Trade and Industry, speaking in Bulgarian with superimposed Russian translation] We believe that the international chamber of trade and industry which has been created on the initiative of a number of leading economic organizations and enterprises in our countries, will be a very effective instrument in the development of the integration of our economies in the conditions of reform and the improvement of direct links between associations and enterprises. I think our chamber will help overcome certain barriers that arise in price-setting and normative acts, and it will facilitate the activity of those wishing to establish new direct links. Our chamber is an instrument of the new economic thinking. It totally rejects any bureaucratic work methods. [end recording]

IZVESTIYA Profiles Polish Premier Rakowski

PM0310124388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
2 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed article under the rubric "Who's Who": "Mieczyslaw Rakowski"]

[Text] Thus, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, a 62-year-old Polish journalist, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, has become chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers.

It was no accident that we begin with the seemingly unusually words vis-a-vis protocol—"Polish journalist." Quite simply, for most of his life Mieczyslaw Rakowski has been a colleague of ours—a journalist. He became a Politburo member and then secretary of the PZPR Central Committee quite recently. In August socialist country correspondents accredited in Poland met with him to discuss the Polish situation and find out at first-hand, so to speak, about the party's policy in this tense period in the country's history. Did he know that he would soon be premier? Hardly. But even then we remember that he said that the government should govern rather than manage. That is, it should be not a federation of ministers thinking and acting departmentally, but the supreme executive organ of power carrying out the socialist state's policy.

Addressing the 27 September Sejm session, W. Jaruzelski noted that the new government is embarking on its activity in a complex socioeconomic situation. At the same time, renewal processes, the destalinization of socialism, and the expansion of the basis for national consensus are under way. Mieczyslaw Rakowski, he said, is well known as an experienced politician and statesman. He is full of energy, initiative, and independence.

Rakowski was born into a peasant family in the village of Kowalewko in the Bydgoszcz area. He was a lathe operator at a Poznan plant, a volunteer in the Polish People's Army, a political officer, a student of journalism and the social sciences, and an instructor at the PZPR Central Committee Press and Publishing Houses Department—those are the milestones in his career.

The important pages in Mieczyslaw Rakowski's career are linked with 1981. At the height of the crisis he was appointed deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers. This was the time when "Solidarity," which had been conceived as a trade union, began to be dominated not by working-class foundations and the principle "yes to socialism, no to distortions," but by forces that had decided to declare war on socialism and open up the process of eroding the socialist community. Rakowski then showed himself to be a skilled politician and a man of outstanding personal courage. He devoted his communist energy and passion to the struggle against political extremism, for the party's strategy of reaching agreement with the sober-minded forces in "Solidarity," and for socialist renewal.

M. Rakowski did a great deal of work as deputy speaker of the Sejm and chairman of the Sejm Socioeconomic Council. He has written many books. He is currently working on a book about restructuring in the Soviet Union. Rakowski has a particular passion: He is president of the Polish Yachting Union.

Rakowski Meets Social Organization Officials

PM0310140988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "With the Aim of Consolidation"]

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Sep—M. Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, has held a number of meetings and conversations with representatives of the leadership of Polish social organizations in the framework of the fulfillment of the mission set him by the Sejm of forming a new government for the country.

On Thursday M. Rakowski met with A. Miodowicz, chairman of the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ], and members of the OPZZ Executive Committee Secretariat. The Polish trade union leaders declared their readiness to take part in formulating and implementing a plan for the consolidation of the Polish economy. In their opinion, during the formulation of the plan preference should be given to the priority tasks of housing construction, ensuring the population's food supply, and environmental protection. At the same time it is necessary to prepare a precise picture of the country's long-term development.

The principles of the trade unions' cooperation as partners with the government were discussed.

On the same day M. Rakowski met with members of the leadership of the National Union of Farmers and agricultural circles and organizations.

During the conversation the sides broached problems that are slowing down the development of the country's agrarian sector. They include the rapid rise in contract prices for equipment and industrial goods. To eliminate these problems, it was said at the meeting, it is necessary to give peasants greater access to credit and to carry out a real restructuring of the economy. The union's representatives gave an assurance that they will support the new government's initiatives.

M. Rakowski also met with representatives of the social council of the Primate of the Catholic Church in Poland.

SFRY's Krunic Resigns From Party Positions

PM0310094988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Resigned"]

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Oct—At a session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium held here, B. Krunic announced his decision to resign his membership of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the TANJUG news agency reports.

Explaining his decision, he pointed to the need in the present situation to apply the principle of personal responsibility for all who occupy leading posts. B. Krunic stated, in particular, that as the official holding the chair of LCY Central Committee Presidium in the past year he is partly responsible for the failure to successfully resolve society's urgent problems and the lack of effectiveness in the LCY Central Committee Presidium's work in that period.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium accepted B. Krunic's resignation.

As reported, last Monday F. Setinc also announced that he was giving up his membership of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

LCY Presidium Discusses Strike Situation

PM0310141388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Decrees Are Not Enough"]

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Oct—At a session here the LCY Central Committee Presidium examined the questions of strikes in the country and of changes and amendments to the SFRY Constitution and the Serbian Constitution.

The strikes have become a daily element in public life and that is why this question will be examined at a LCY Central Committee plenum, U. Uzelac, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stated when delivering a report on the first item on the agenda. Strikes are a manifestation of the conflict situation in Yugoslav society. The LCY Central Committee has devoted insufficient attention to them and has not had a united viewpoint on this issue. This social phenomenon cannot be eliminated by decrees.

Hungary's Berecz Interviewed at Trade Fair

LD2909040088 Moscow International Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Traditionally, the Soviet Union is among the bigger participants at the Budapest International Fair. Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, called on the Soviet pavilion. Yuriy Rogov, our special correspondent, asked him to talk about his impressions.

[Begin recording] [Berecz] I am very pleased that on the one hand the area of the Soviet display is larger, and on the other hand it is richer than ever before as regards the consumers' goods. I am very pleased that [word indistinct] area is presented where a wide scale of various goods is displayed. There are two open areas, one where there are cars arouse great interest, and another where there is a children's town, where they cannot accomodate the enormous number of children. This is very good, because in terms of atmosphere this surrounds the exhibit.

[Rogov] Another question, not in connection with the fair: In the current period of restructuring, ideological work, ideological relations are of even more importance. What changes, progress, do you consider to be necessary so that Hungarian-Soviet ideological relations should occupy an even greater place?

[Berecz] Well, 1 and ½ years ago, we compiled a complex cooperation program in the sphere of ideology. It is already being realized in practice, but we have not yet signed it. We thought that we would, rather, prepare a statement of principle, which we would sign in the course of a visit by Comrade Yakovlev, and that we would realize this big program.

Ranging from the publication of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Hungarian, to the necessity of holding joint theoretical roundtable conferences, especially on socialism, on property, on the effectiveness of the functioning of property, on democracy, on the interrelations of socialism and democracy, on the further development of the socialist constitutional state, we have so many common problems, that there is not enough time—perhaps there exists the intellectual capacity, but there is not enough time for us to put together all that we already possess with mutual experience. It is in this that I see a resurgence [kibontakozas]. [end recording]

Hungary Grants Amnesty for 1956 Convictions

LD0110004088 Moscow TASS in English 2332 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest October 1 TASS—A session of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic held Friday adopted a decree having the force of a law on the amnesty of people convicted for crimes committed between October 23, 1956, and May 1, 1957. According to the amnesty legal restrictions are lifted for people sentenced by court to imprisonment for anti-state crimes committed during the above mentioned period. The amnesty does not spread to the people who were convicted for high treason or espionage, as well as to those who committed murder or robbery within the framework of an offense against the state.

West Europe

Gorbachev Greets Perugia-Assisi Peace March

PM0310075188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[Greetings message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: "To the participants in the 'Perugia-Assisi' Peace March"]

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev sent greetings to the participants of the Perugia-Assisi peace march. He said:

Friends! This is not the first time that I have greeted the participants in the Perugia-Assisi peace march. The Soviet people share your desire, and are in solidarity with the humane objectives of your march, in the name of life and the well-being of people. This time your march is being carried out when the practical movement toward a nuclear-free world has started. Not only has a treaty on the elimination a section of nuclear weapons been concluded, for the first time, but the physical destruction of the most up-to-date and powerful missiles is already under way. Until quite recently this would have been considered utopian. But we are confident that the course toward a final triumph of reason is a correct policy. Proceeding from this, we shall continue to take specific actions to promote the cause of disarmament, to seek an end to confrontation in world politics, and to affirm the principles of human morality in international affairs.

The imminent objective is the the conclusion of the treaty for a 50-percent reduction of strategic arms, which we also link with the renunciation of the arms race in space. The Soviet Union stands for an immediate ban on, and the elimination of, chemical weapons; for a decisive reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe; for a fundamental change in the entire situation on our continent, toward good-neighborliness and mutual trust; and for transforming the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, free from the presence of foreign military bases and fleets.

In our time the peoples are, with increasing boldness and responsibility, joining directly in world politics, and are actively intervening in those political spheres and problems which affect their security, prosperity, and their hopes for a happy and peaceful life. With increasing frequency their efforts are being crowned with success. This authoritative mass and genuinely internatinalist movement is a reassuring sign that attaining a world without wars and weapons is a realistic goal.

I cordially greet you and wish you, your families, and your comrades-in-arms well, in the great cause which concerns everyone on earth.

M.S. Gorbachev

Italy's De Mita To Visit USSR Mid-October

LD0110162588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1600 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, 1 Oct (TASS)—Ciriaco de Mita, chairman of the Italian Council of Ministers, is to visit the USSR on an official visit in the middle of October. He has been invited by the Soviet leadership.

Gorbachev Replies to Belgian Schoolboy

LD0110210588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1558 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Text] Brussels, 1 Oct (TASS)—A letter reply from M.S. Gorbachev was handed over to Belgian schoolboy Sven Ornelis today. Sven had earlier sent a letter to the Soviet leader.

It is noted in the reply, which was presented at the USSR Embassy in Belgium, that the Soviet people, like the Belgian boy, proceed from the fact that a nuclear clash, particularly on the European Continent, would become an act of suicide for mankind. They are convinced that everything, possible or impossible, must be done to avert a nuclear catastrophe, to divert other global threats away from the human race, and to save our green planet.

Your thoughts about the importance of trust among the youth of the USSR, the United States, Belgium, and other countries of Europe appear, to me, to be very timely, it is said in M.S. Gorbachev's reply. Indeed you, the generation that will be building life in the 21st century, must now familiarize yourselves with one another, and overcome prejudicial, linguistic, and other barriers. I think that things are already changing for the better in these matters. We are also in favor of the continuation of these wholesome changes. I would wish that when you become adult, you can live in a more open, friendly, and happy world, and feel that it is your own big and native home, which you share with other people.

Sven lives in a small town not far from the Belgian town of Ghent. His father is a principal. His friends came with him today to the Soviet Embassy. I got the idea of

writing a letter to M.S. Gorbachev when I was watching a program on television about the restructuring taking place in your country, Sven told journalists. Of course, I did not expect to get an answer—after all, M.S. Gorbachev is so busy. But I am happy that he responded to my letter, and that he shares the hopes of the young people of our continent.

Irish Deputy Premier Interviewed on USSR Ties

PM3009142388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with Brian Lenihan, deputy prime minister of Ireland, by TASS correspondent I. Ponomarev: "USSR-Ireland: Potential for Further Rapprochement"—date not given]

[Text] Dublin—In connection with the 15th anniversary today of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Ireland, your TASS correspondent met with Brian Lenihan, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Ireland, who answered a number of questions about current bilateral and international problems. The interview was conducted especially for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

I believe that our bilateral relations have developed satisfactorily from that moment, B. Lenihan said. They are characterized by mutual respect, reciprocal advantage, and recognition of each other's interests. In the past 15 years there have been regular bilateral contacts at various levels. Irish ministers have paid a number of visits to the USSR. There were meetings between the two countries' foreign ministers within the framework of the UN General Assembly in 1986 and 1987. Our countries belong to two different socioeconomic systems, and have different views on a number of important problems. We believe, therefore, that such meetings at a ministerial level promote a better understanding of each other's position on bilateral and international questions.

The intergovernmental agreement on the development of economic, industrial, scientific, and technical cooperation, signed by the two sides in 1976, was decisive for the development of Soviet-Irish trade and economic relations. In the period after that, the volume of bilateral trade increased, though in recent years the rate of its growth has slowed somewhat. The Irish side believes that existing trade relations with the USSR do not fully reflect the two countries' potential, and sees considerable potential for their further development.

On questions of international policy, B. Lenihan pointed out that Ireland welcomed the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. We, he noted, await progress toward the realization of the goal agreed by the Soviet Union and the United States—the 50-percent reduction of the sides' strategic offensive armaments. This would constitute important evidence that the nuclear arms race can be curbed. Our country supports an end to the development of all weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons; the cessation of nuclear tests; a substantial reduction in nuclear arsenals, leading ultimately to their complete elimination; and the strengthening of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

We welcome the USSR's new course in the sphere of domestic and foreign policy, but we also understand that there are still considerable obstacles to be overcome in the effective implementation of the policy of restructuring, B. Lenihan went on to note. The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference held recently stressed the great significance of this policy for the USSR's future. That forum approved a program of reforms in all spheres of Soviet society. We in Ireland wish the Soviet people success in all their most important undertakings. The domestic and foreign policy course pursued by the Soviet Union helps to improve East-West relations. Ireland views that process positively.

Akhromeyev Recalls Palme Legacy While in Sweden

PM0310084588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Oct 88 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Stay in Sweden"]

[Text] Stockholm, 29 Sep—Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, who is here at the invitation of the leadership of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, has delivered a report on the question of arms control at an international symposium devoted to the memory of O. Palme.

The report pointed out that many of the ideas for which O. Palme struggled—in the sphere of ending the arms race, radically reducing nuclear arms, creating nuclear-free zones in Europe, and demilitarizing space—are in many ways consonant with Soviet initiatives. Real results have been achieved recently in the areas of disarmament and easing military tension, and the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, along with the final document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe, has been signed and are being implemented.

The need to extend confidence-building measures to the independent activities of naval and air forces, and to reduce their armaments, was particularly emphasized. Attention was once again drawn to the proposals advanced in the speeches of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Vladivostok, Murmansk, Belgrade, and Krasnoyarsk. The Soviet concept of the phased reduction of troops and conventional arms in Europe was also set forth in detail.

On the same day the Soviet military chief had a meeting with correspondents of Swedish and foreign mass media.

Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev met with General B. Gustafsson, commander in chief of the Swedish Armed Forces, and Lieutenant General S.-O. Olson, commander of the Air Force. Questions on the development of bilateral contacts in the military sphere were discussed. B.D. Pankin, USSR ambassador to Sweden, participated in the meetings.

Soviet-Danish Cooperation Program Signed

PM0310093988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report "Program Signed"]

[Text] A program for cultural and scientific cooperation between the USSR and Denmark for 1989-1993 was signed at the USSR Foreign Ministry 30 September.

The program makes provision for the further development of cooperation in the spheres of culture, art, cinematography, television and radio broadcasting, the publishing industry, sports, tourism, and various other areas of science and education, and also for Russian language teaching in Denmark, and Danish language teaching in the USSR.

The two sides will provide assistance and aid in the development of cooperation, through creative unions and public organizations.

The program was signed on the Soviet side by V. Kuptsov, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Administration for Humanitarian and Cultural Ties, and on the Danish side by B. Kiilerich, head of the Danish Foreign Ministry Cultural Ties department.

Soviet-Greek Economic Cooperation Talks Held

PM3009135788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Sep 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Cooperation Strengthening"]

[Text] The Seventh Session of the Soviet-Greek Intergovernmental Economic and Industrial Cooperation Commission ended in Moscow 29 September. The state of trade and economic relations between the two countries, and concrete issues relating to the further development of it, were examined. Particular attention was devoted to large-scale projects which would make it possible to substantially increase the volume of reciprocal foreign-trade cooperation, placing it on a more stable and long-term footing.

A corresponding protocol was signed at the end of the session.

Cooperation Protocol Signed

PM0310092588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Cooperation Is Developing"]

[Text] The seventh session of the Soviet-Greek Intergovernmental Commission for Economic and Industrial Cooperation ended in Moscow 29 September.

After the conclusion of the session a protocol to this effect was signed.

The document was signed on the Soviet side by Yu.N. Chumakov, USSR deputy minister of foreign economic relations, and on the Greek side by I. Papandoniou, deputy minister of national economy.

On the same day the head of the Greek delegation was received by K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations. A conversation on questions of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries and spheres of its further development took place.

Austria's Vranitzky To Pay Official Visit

LD2909224088 Moscow TASS in English 2228 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 30 TASS—Franz Vranitzky, federal chancellor of the Austrian Republic, will pay an official visit to the Soviet Union during the first half of October at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Latin America & Caribbean

Chilean Communists Issue Statement on 'No-Vote'

PY2909222288 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Yesterday the Communist Party of Chile [PCCh] issued a declaration in Santiago signed by Mireya Baltra, Jose Sanfuentes, and Gonzalo Rovira reiterating the need to establish a provisional government to head the transition to democracy. The document also reiterates the Chilean people's right to defend the no-vote victory with effective and coordinated actions, such as the mobilization of millions of Chileans and the democratic uprising of the masses.

Given the importance of the document, issued in response to an overwhelming anticommunist government campaign and the reformulation of communist positions, we offer its complete text.

The PCCh says that the declaration issued by the office of the Secretary General of Government on 24 September is only the latest indication of the dictatorship's decision to create the appropriate climate for a fraud.

The plan described in the government declaration does not exist. Our enemies are not those in arms, but Pinochet's regime. Our plan is expressed by our party's decision to contribute with all our forces to a no-vote victory by promoting a coordinated effort with all democratic sectors, without exception.

The overwhelming majority of people support the no-vote, as is shown by the impressive increase in the mobilizations of the masses, especially as of 30 August.

Under these conditions, the proclamation of a yes-vote victory can only be the result of a scandalous manipulation of the election results. The people cannot, and will not, recognize it.

The PCCh plan also contemplates the effective and coordinated defense of the indisputable no-vote victory. We are convinced that the irreplaceable means to defeat the dictatorship are to support the no-vote and to organize and mobilize millions of Chileans.

Our decision includes the search for agreements to seek the most effective way to guarantee a victory in the plebiscite and a defeat of the tyranny, giving way to an authentic transition to democracy.

The declaration says: The PCCh Central Committee has especially recommended that we state that Volodia Teitelboim's expressions closely reflect the opinion of the party and the will and wishes of wide sectors of the people.

We totally reject the implications of the statements that government officials made against Comrade Volodia Teitelboim. The same charges have been made against the opposition for 15 years. The campaign has only increased, as is the case of Carlos Capelli and his mother [not further specified], and even against such former Pinochet colaborators as (Liliana Mans).

It is unfortunate that certain opposition sectors have echoed the slanderous statements that frequently accompany such attacks. The dictatorship's aim is obvious. Its actions are not prompted just by the hate that the fascists feel toward a prominent democratic leader, but also by the desire to distort the country's perception of the true nature of the dilemma that will be resolved on 5 October: dictatorship or democracy.

The opposition forces should be seeking unity in order to say no to the dictatorship. There should be no argument about the right of every party to state its opinions and its protests, as there should be no question that the people who are being harassed by the dictatorship are citizens with full rights.

The attacks on Volodia Teitelboim have been focused on the PCCh's stand that a provisional government is needed for an effective transition to democracy. It should be pointed out that the need for a provisional government representing a broad consensus is not solely a PCCh idea. This idea is shared by sectors of the left and also centrist parties. The Democratic Alliance set forth the establishment of a provisional government as one of its most urgent objectives in its founding charter in August 1980. We believe that ours is a valid proposal and we hope that it will become the point of agreement for all the opponents.

We believe that after the no-vote victory and the defeat of the dictatorship, the dictator could not head any type of transition to democracy. Each and every democrat is aware that Pinochet is the main obstacle on the path toward democracy and that he must be replaced if we want to attain it. The people are aware of this, and it makes a provisional government necessary.

We believe that this government should be made up of prominent personalities capable of giving guarantees to all antifascists and nonfascists and of creating the conditions appropriate for the expression of popular sovereignty through free elections.

Yet another of Volodia Teitelboim's ideas which has been the target of slander and attacks is the duty to defend the no-vote victory even if it means resorting to a democratic uprising of the masses. This means that the no-vote victory must be defended using effective and coordinated methods leading to the mobilization of millions of Chileans.

If the dictatorship tries to deprive the no-vote victory of its true democratic meaning, it stands to reason that the people will not remain indifferent and will take to the streets fully convinced of the [words indistinct] and prepared to defend it.

The PCCh declaration concludes by stating: This is our point of view. We do not believe that we hold the absolute truth. We feel that by taking our position as a stepping stone and taking into account the opinion of other democratic sectors, it will be possible to reach agreements capable of paving the way to democracy.

We are aware that these are crucial times. This is proven by the masses on the streets. It is because of this that our party and our communist youth are working hard for the no-vote victory. We are sure that with the help of every Chilean willing to struggle for freedom, with the support of all opposition forces, and through a broad social and political agreement, it will be possible to take advantage of the plebiscite to put an end to these 15 years of oppression. Our watchword is: Until the victory of the no-vote.

Further Declaration Reported

PY0110033688 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Text] With only 5 days remaining before the plebiscite, the PCCh called on all Chileans to defeat the dictatorship on 5 October. The statement, signed by the Political Commission, says:

The PCCh makes a fervent call on all Chilean workers and people in general to use the remaining few days before the plebiscite in the best way possible, mobilizing all the forces and energy of the masses to turn 5 October into a great event for democracy, thus inflicting on Pinochet and the dictatorship a defeat. The momentum and pace of the campaign for the no-vote has taken the character of a political confrontation that objectively rejects Pinochet's attempt to remain in power 8 more years. The great public demonstrations that have taken place from Arica to Magallanes—whether sponsored by the United Left [IU], the Youth Command for the No-Vote, the ACUSO [Social Accord for the No-Vote], the Independent Committee for Democracy, or students for their rights—offer a certain possibility to defeat Pinochet.

In this political picture the PCCh statement, which has been created by the simultaneous efforts of all the opposition sectors, adds that the conviction has grown that the country's overwhelming majority will vote no. The dictatorship realizes this, shows signs of despair, and thus resorts to vile attacks and moral degradation in its television spots, using and abusing the state television channel, and displacing the opposition's public rallies to the outskirts of cities while keeping for itself the downtown sites. It distorts the country's economic and social reality, particularly that of the 5 million Chileans who live in poverty. It turns the state ministers into open electoral agents.

Although the dictatorship came and stayed in power through the most brutal violence ever in the country's history, and regardless of the thousands of assassinations, the torture, the massive exile, and the internal exile of hundreds of thousands of Chileans, it now pretends to act as the dove of peace, shoving onto the opposition the crimes it commits.

The statement continues to point out that Pinochet has not and will not change. As the IU said in its declaration this week, Pinochet is the main obstacle in the transition to democracy. Pinochet and his group of fascists, unrepentant enemies of democracy who support the principle of never-ending war against the people, are committed to the sinister purpose of not making possible the expression of the people's rejection at the ballot boxes and their attempt to resume the path of democracy. Their repeated statements mean they will not allow what they call a return to the past. To that effect, in addition to the restrictions on the exercise of freedom and access to television, they are trying to intimidate a significant sector of the people by terror. Thus they have began to seize the identification cards of any citizen who can be deceived and pressured; they have began to deploy soldiers away from the site where they have registered for the plebiscite; they have mounted an attempt to forge registrations of unknown people. As if all this were not enough, they have have prepared a plan for the date of the balloting. As for the ploys they might use during the day of the plebiscite, there is a blackout for which they will try to blame the opposition. The blackout will give them the chance to manipulate votes and to snatch ballot boxes.

The PCCh statement, which we are airing in full, reiterates the party's willingness to coordinate with all the opposition forces the plan of action for the remaining days until the plebiscite, the day of the plebiscite, and the following days to ensure the expression of and respect for the will of the nation's majority. The opposition front is quite broad, comprising from the social standpoint workers as well as businessmen. In the ideological and political spectrum, that front ranges from the left to sectors of the right, including Marxists, Christians, and rationalists, believers and non-believers. All these sectors agree on rejecting Pinochet and his dictatorial regime outright, on voting no, although not all of them attach the same connotation or relevance to the no-vote.

The possibility of victory lies precisely in the fact that the opposition spectrum is so broad. For that reason Pinochet and his adherents try to stress the differences existing in the opposition front. Unfortunately, some Christian Democratic Party leaders, with the expressed or tacit support of their allies, including some parties of the left, have lent themselves in recent days to favor the designs of the regime.

This can be seen in the attacks being hurled against the PCCh, particularly directly at the opinion voiced by a member of its Political Commission and prominent intellectual, Comrade Volodia Teitelboim. In proposing a provisional government for the transition from dictatorship to democracy, Teitelboim has very properly expressed the opinion of our party. It is important to recall that the Democratic Alliance came out in favor of a transitional government on the same day it was created, as can be read in the document it released to the press on 22 August 1983, with the signatures of Patricio Aylwin, Gabriel Valdez, and Enrique Silva Cima, among others. The same proposal has been made by the Popular Democratic Movement [MDP] since its inception in September 1983. An identical proposal was set forth a year later, on 5 October 1984, by Comrade Manuel Almeida at the ceremony commemorating the MDP's 1st anniversary.

Late in 1987, the parties gathered under the MDP reached an agreement with the Christian Left, the Historical Socialist Party, and the MAPU [United Popular Action Movement], creating a broader coalition—the IU. In the IU charter of 19 November 1987, it also expressed support for a provisional government. We thus have the right to ask why now political leaders like Patricio Aylwin, Enrique Silva Cima, and German Correa, who yesterday were in favor of a provisional government, raise a scandal and attack the PCCh, just because it stays fast to that demand. They even go so far as saying that we are playing into the hands of Pinochet. Just as baseless are some the attacks hurled by some

political leaders against the idea set forth by our party regarding a democratic uprising of the masses—an idea that responds to the legitimate right of rebellion against the tyranny. It is also the most effective method of defeating the fraudulent plebiscite and of defending the no-vote victory with a mobilization of millions of Chileans. This proposal has also been made by other leftist parties.

Moreover, we want to draw attention to the fact that the target of the dictatorship attacks is not the PCCh and its most prominent spokesmen, but also former collaborators of the regime who have opened their eyes and quit the dictatorship ranks in an attitude of dignity that is well-recognized by the country. The hatred of the dictatorship is also directed at relevant political figures like Salvador Allende and Radomiro Tome. We express our total solidarity with Tome and claim recognition for Salvador Allende as a great patriot and social fighter, loyal to the popular cause to his death.

The center-right opposition is intent on stressing and reasserting its differences with the PCCh in the belief that it can thus counteract the self-serving propaganda of the regime, which tries to present it as being manipulated by the Marxist left. In this manner, the center-right opposition also believes it can enhance its image before the Armed Forces high commanders so as to accept a dialogue conductive to an orderly and quick transition to democracy, which is mentioned in the charter of the 16 Parties Coalition of 2 February 1988. The PCCh sharply rejects this conciliatory and ineffective attitude of the center-right opposition. This attitude will not raise the possibility of negotiating with the Armed Forces, a positive and fruitful dialogue that can lead to the restoration of democracy.

Democracy will not be restored by conciliatory attitudes, but through open and decisive struggle in defense of the no-vote win, the resolute opposition to a fraud, the unbending demand for Pinochet's resignation, and the increasing and sustained mobilization of the masses in demand of their rights and for respect for human rights, for freedom for political prisoners, and for the real restoration of democracy. The PCCh Political Commission's statement says that the party is open to all opinions and to takes into account the positions of all sectors. It does not intend to impose its viewpoint on others, but it does demand respect for its own.

The PCCh is willing to agree on many points, but it frankly asserts that there are other issues on which it will not compromise. In the first place, it will not compromise on the need for the permanent struggle of the masses. It will do all that is possible for the no-vote victory, but should this victory be denied and a fraudulent yes-vote victory be proclaimed, it will not recognize it. The PCCh is also willing to make agreements with all the opposition sectors during these critical days, but will never accept the idea of a popular demobilization. We call on all workers and people to go to the polls en masse from the early hours on 5 October. We call on them to be present to watch the voting at each balloting station and to come out on the streets and plazas throughout Chile in an orderly manner in the afternoon and evening of plebiscite day to celebrate the no-vote victory or to impede or reject a fraud and demand Pinochet's resignation.

The no-vote victory, the defeat of the fraud, and the outster of Pinochet from power will depend on the level and strength of the popular mobilization. The people must be determined to demand respect for the will of the citizenry, and, to that effect, enact all forms of struggle to put an end to the evil Pinochet regime once and for all. The fascist Constitution cannot prevail nor can it be enforced above the verdict of the nation.

That is the full text of the statement released yesterday in Santiago by the PCCh Political Commission.

Plenum, Supreme Soviet Session

PRAVDA Reports on 30 Sep Plenary Session

Commissions Formed

PM3009171788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Oct 88 First Edition p 1

["Resolution of the 30 September 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum on the Formation of the CPSU Central Committee Commissions and the Reorganization of the CPSU Central Committee Apparatus in Light of the 19th All-Union Party Conference Decisions"]

[Text] 1. The plenum has considered it expedient to have the following commissions of the CPSU Central Committee:

Questions of Party Building and Cadre Policy—chairman: Comrade Razumovskiy.

Ideological Commission of the CPSU Central Committee—chairman: Comrade Medvedev.

Questions of Socioeconomic Policy—chairman: Comrade Slyunkov.

Questions of Agrarian Policy—chairman: Comrade Ligachev.

Questions of International Policy—chairman: Comrade Yakovlev.

Questions of Legal Policy—chairman: Comrade Chebrikov.

2. To instruct the CPSU Central Committee Politburo to implement practical measures on the setting up of a new structure of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus and local party committees, taking into consideration changes in the functions of party bodies in conditions of the deepening of restructuring and the implementation of the reform in the country's political system.

3. The central committees of the communist parties of the union republics and kraykoms and obkoms of the party, during the course of report-back and elections that are taking place, should focus special attention on questions of selecting cadres to the party apparatus and the promotion to this work of comrades possessing high political and business qualities and dedicated supporters of restructuring who enjoy trust and prestige among Communist Party and nonparty members.

'Official Communique' Reported

PM30091720 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Oct 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Information Report on the CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] A CPSU Central Committee plenum was held on 30 September 1988.

In light of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, the plenum considered Politburo proposals for reorganizing the party apparatus as well as some personnel matters.

The plenum was addressed by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Comrade Gorbachev told the plenum that Andrey Gromyko asked the CPSU Central Committee for a retirement on a pension.

Gorbachev pointed out the big services done by Gromyko to the Communist Party and the Soviet state and expressed good wishes to him.

The plenum met Gromyko's request and relieved him of his duties as a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

The plenum passed a decision on CPSU Central Committee commissions on the key aspects of home and foreign policies.

The plenum elected CPSU Central Committee Secretary Vadim Medvedev a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

The plenum elected Viktor Chebrikov, a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, to be a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum elected Aleksander Vlasov an alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

The plenum elected Aleksandra Biryukova and Anatoliy Lukyanov alternate members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, while relieving them of their duties as CPSU Central Committee secretaries.

The plenum relieved Mikhail Solomentsev of his duties as a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Commission in connection with his retirement on a pension.

The plenum relieved Vladimir Dolgikh of his duties as an alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and as secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in connection with his retirement on a pension.

The plenum relieved Petr Demichev of his duties as an alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo in connection with his retirement on a pension.

The plenum relieved Anatoliy Dobrynin of his duties as a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in connection with his retirement on a pension.

The plenum endorsed Boris Pugo as chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Commission.

After this the CPSU Central Committee plenum ended its work.

Gorbachev Thanks Gromyko

PM30091803 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 88 First Edition p 1

["Speech by M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Comrades, the Politburo has considered it necessary to call this Central Committee plenum in order to examine the proposals on the matters of political reform of and improvement in the structure of the party apparatus, which derive from the directives of the 19th all-union party conference.

Painstaking and thorough study of these matters has shown that, in connection with the change in the functions of the party and with its increased role as society's political vanguard, there is a need to improve the work of the Central Committee, the Politburo, the secretaries, and the apparatus of the party Central Committee. It is natural that this requires certain changes to be made in the placing of the party's leading cadres. Most of these issues are within the brief of the CPSU Central Committee. That, in fact, is what has necessitated the convocation of this plenum.

I shall give the plenum a report on the Politburo's specific proposals on this. But first of all, I would like to report to the comrades that the CPSU Central Committee has received a statement from Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, member of the Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Allow me to read it out:

To the CPSU Central Committee, to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: I have now reached a fair age. As I look back on the path I have traveled in my life, I consider that the only rational decision for me is to retire. I am proud that for 57 years I have been a member of the party of Lenin; for 36 years a member of the Central Committee, and for 15 years a member of the Politburo. Wherever the party sent me, I tried to do my work honestly, as the country's interests demanded. So it was in the system of the Academy of Sciences; so it was during my work as a diplomat, including my period as USSR foreign minister; and so it was after I was elected chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

I am a committed supporter of the great restructuring of Soviet society and of implementation of the decisions made by the party, by its 27th congress, by the 19th all-union conference, and by the Central Committee plenums. It is the duty of every communist and of every aware Soviet person to make his contribution to the fulfillment of these historic decisions. I want to march every day in a common rank with the whole party and with the whole people. I cherish the hope that you understand me correctly. Of course the change in my position will not prevent me from fulfilling such duties as may lie within my power in the interests of the party and state. Thank you to the Central Committee, and thank you to you all for the work we have done together for the good of our country and for the good of peace.

[Signed] Andrey Gromyko.

We discussed this question at the Politburo, and decided to support Andrey Andreyevich's request. We all know Comrade Gromyko as a major politician and statesman. For more than 30 years he has been a member of the party Central Committee. He has devoted almost half a century to diplomatic work: ambassador to the United States, to Great Britain; representative of the USSR in the UN Security Council; USSR deputy minister, later minister, of foreign affairs. The documents on the founding of the United Nations Organization bear the signature of Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, which he appended on behalf of the Soviet states.

In 1973 Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko was elected member of the Central Committee Politburo, and in 1985 chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. As you can see, comrades, his path through life has been a long one, moreover in diverse and, at times, difficult years. His activites gained recognition both at home and abroad. All in all, it has been a rich political destiny. As the saying goes, there is plenty to reminisce about both for Andrey Andreyevich himself and for all of us who have long known him well. Today, when Andrey Andreyevich departs for his deserved rest, I should like—on behalf of his Politburo colleagues, and I hope that this is the view of the plenum participants too—to thank him for his enormous work and loyal service to the party and state, and to wish him good health. But I think that Andrey Andreyevich will continue to take part in the country's sociopolitical life and give us support with his experience. Permit me once again to express all good wishes to Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko. (Applause)

Biography of Vadim Medvedev

PM3009174088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed biography entitled: "Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev, Member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] He was born on 29 March 1929 in the village of Mokhonkovo in Danilovskiy Rayon, Yaroslavl Oblast. He is a Russian.

In 1951 Medvedev graduated from Leningrad State University and worked as an assistant instructor and then a senior lecturer there. He has been a party member since 1952.

From 1956 Medvedev was a docent at the Leningrad Institute of Railway Transport Engineers and from 1961 he chaired the Political Economy Department at the Leningrad Technological Institute named after the Leningrad Soviet.

In 1968 he was elected a secretary of the Leningrad Gorkom. From 1970 till 1978 he worked as a deputy head of the Propaganda Department at the CPSU Central Committee.

In 1978-83 he was rector of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee. In 1983 he was endorsed as head of the CPSU Central Committee's Department on Science and Institutions of Learning.

At the 25th and 26th party congresses he was elected a member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and at the 27th congress he was elected a member of the CPSU Central Committee.

At the March 1986 Central Committee Plenum he was elected a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Simultaneously he is head of a department at the CPSU Central Committee.

He is a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Medvedev is a corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. He is the author of a number of works on the political economy of socialism.

Medvedev Answers Journalists Questions 30 Sep

LD3009181588 Moscow TASS in English 1759 GMT 30 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 30 TASS—The line of restructuring, the line of democratisation and openness will be continued, and no retreat from this course ought to be expected, said Vadim Medvedev, a Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU CC. He spoke at a press conference on the results of the CPSU CC plenary meeting held in Moscow today.

Questioned by newsmen if the restructuring would gain from the reorganisation effected by the plenum, Vadim Medvedev said: "I think it is a major step in the pursuit by our party of the line of restructuring, in implementing the decisions of the 27th congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference."

"I believe that the impressions which Mikhail Gorbachev brought from his trip to Krasnoyarsk, confirmed the need for serious measures to reorganise the political system and the apparatus. But I do not think that it was this that influenced the time of the plenary meeting," he explained to newsmen.

Referring to the reorganisation of the CPSU CC apparatus, Vadim Medvedev stressed that a substantial reduction in the number of the CPSU CC departments and apparatus is to be effected, "maybe by half". The measure will affect not only the central apparatus but also those of the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics and regional party committees, albeit to a lesser extent, it is true, than the Central Committee apparatus. As to the primary party committees—district and city ones, there will practically be no reductions there.

"This is not a simple problem since concentrated in the party apparatus is skilled personnel with a large political and professional experience," Vadim Medvedev said. "So what is at issue is the need to create for the comrades who will discontinue their work in the Central Committee apparatus favourable conditions for taking up other jobs: in the state and economic management apparatus, in the teaching profession, or in fields of their speciality. This is a painful and sensitive problem which will affect the interests of people."

Some of the Central Committee departments will be enlarged and merged, Medvedev continued. The Central Committee's Ideological Commission and Ideological Department are being organized on the basis of three existing Central Committee departments, one for propaganda, another for culture and the other on science and institutions of learning.

In other cases, existing departments will be abolished. This applies to the departments dealing each with a specific economic sector. Their functions are being handed over to the Council of Ministers and to the Supreme Soviet and its commissions.

A considerable share of the powers will be delegated from the centre down to local level.

This will be not a mechanical process, but one that will be accompanied by changes in the work methods of the Central Committee staff, most notably changes connected with the establishing of the Central Committee commissions.

"Naturally enough, the Central Committee apparatus will have political rather than administrative functions, just as suggested at the party conference," Medvedev said.

Asked if there was a debate at the plenum on Yegor Ligachev's transfer to the commission on agrarian policy, he replied: "There were no debates at the plenum on

this issue. And the question was put by the journalist inaccurately. Comrade Ligachev had dealt with agriculture, among other things, also before. Now he will concentrate on this range of issues."

Continuing to answer questions from reporters, Medvedev said that the chairman's functions in the Politburo are performed by Central Committee general secretary in what is "an established tradition, a norm of our work".

In the absence of the general secretary each time the chairmanship of Politburo meetings is entrusted to someone else, he added. "This procedure, I think, will remain in the future as well," Medvedev said.

"The issue of the forms of work to be conducted by the CPSU Central Committee in connection with the forming of the commissions under a decision taken at the plenum will be further studied. It is difficult for me to say right now how the work of the Central Committee secretaries will be organized," he said.

Answering a question about whether Viktor Chebrikov will remain chairman of the KGB, Medvedev said the KGB chairman is a member of the government and the question is within the province of other organs, not a plenum of the party's Central Committee. "This issue was not discussed at the plenum today," he said.

Anatoliy Dobrynin's retirement on a pension is connected with his age and state of health. "I think this is a usual procedure and one oughtn't look for anything else behind it," Medvedev commented.

He said the foreign policy matters will from now on be supervised by the leader of the commission on international policy, Aleksandr Yakovlev, who is a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He will oversee also the corresponding Central Committee department.

As far as Andrey Gromyko is concerned, he has asked to be relieved of his duties to retire also before.

Medvedev said a new chairman for the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU has not been elected. He reminded the newsmen that it was suggested at the 19th party conference that the Party Control Committee and the Central Auditing Commission be merged.

Supreme Soviet Holds Extraordinary Session 1 Oct

Deputies Register

LD0110052188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Registration of deputies has at this very moment already begun at the Great Kremlin Palace.

Presidium Views Agenda

LD0110073788 Moscow TASS in English 0732 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 1 TASS—A meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet started in the Kremlin today. It is examining questions put on the agenda of a special session of the Supreme Soviet which opens today.

Soviets, Council of Elders Meet

LD0110082188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Text] A session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium took place in the Kremlin today. The Presidium examined and approved proposals on the agenda and order of work of the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It will begin with a joint session of the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities at 1200 in the hall of meetings of the Great Kremlin Palace.

A session of the Council of Elders of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet has started at this moment. It is being held in the hall of meetings of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin.

Council of Elders Meeting Ends

LD0110090388 Moscow TASS in English 0900 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 1 TASS—The Councils of Elders of the two houses in the Soviet parliament—the Soviet Union and the Soviet of Nationalities—held a joint session in the Kremlin today to discuss matters related to the work of the upcoming special parliamentary session.

Supreme Soviet Proceedings

LD0110121088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1015 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Report on and recorded proceedings of the USSR Supreme Soviet extraordinary session held in the Great Kremlin Palace in Moscow on 1 October]

[Text] In Moscow today in the Great Kremlin Palace there was an extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It opened at 1200 as a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. Those present applauded Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Medvedev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Chebrikov, Shevardnadze, Shcherbitskiy, Yakovlev, Biryukova, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Maslyukov, Razumovskiy, Solovyev, Talyzin, Yazov, and Baklanov. The sitting was conducted by Khristoradnov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Here is an account of the work of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Begin recording] [Khristoradnov] Comrade deputies, I declare the extraordinary session of the 11th convocation of the USSR Supreme Soviet open. We have to approve the agenda of the session and its order of work. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium submits a proposal to examine the following questions at this session:

On the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

On the first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The questions are submitted by the party Central Committee and by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Thirdly, on making changes to the composition of the USSR Council of Ministers. The question is submitted by the Council of Ministers.

The proposal on including the aforementioned questions on the agenda of the session has been approved by the Council of Elders of the Soviet of Nationalities and of the Soviet of the Union. Do the deputies have any other proposals on the agenda of the session? [slight pause] No other proposals. In that case, let us move to the vote. Deputies of the Soviet of Nationalities vote: Who is in favor of approving the proposed agenda of the session, please raise your hands. [slight pause] Please put them down. Who is against? [slight pause] None. Who has abstained? [slight pause] None. The Soviet of Nationalities has approved the agenda. Deputies of the Soviet of the Union vote: Who is in favor of approving the agenda of the session, please raise your hands. [slight pause] Please put them down. Who is against? [slight pause] None. Who has abstained? [slight pause] None. The Soviet of the Union also approves the agenda. Thus the agenda of the session is adopted.

Comrade deputies, on the instruction of the Council of Elders of the chambers, I am raising a proposal that all questions on the agenda of the session be examined at this joint sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities and the Soviet of the Union. Do the deputies have any other proposals on the order of work of our session? [slight pause] No other proposals. I put it to the vote. Deputies of the Soviet of Nationalities vote: Who is in favor of adopting the proposed order of work of the session, please raise your hands. [slight pause] Please put them down. Who is against? [slight pause] None. Who has abstained? [slight pause] None. The Soviet of Nationalities approves the order of work of the session. Deputies of the Soviet of the Union vote: Who is in favor of approving the proposed order of work of the session, please raise your hands. [slight pause] Please put them down. Who is against? [slight pause] None. Who has abstained? [very slight pause] Also none. The Soviet of the Union also approves the order of work of the session. Thus the order of work of the session is adopted.

We move to examining the questions on the agenda of the session. Comrade Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko has requested to be released from the duties of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in connection with his retirement on pension.

Allow me to give the floor to Comrade Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko. [Gromyko] Comrade deputies, first of all I would like to thank Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, for everything that he said yesterday at the Central Committee plenum about me and for his assessment of my work, including my performance as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum supported my request to retire for considerations of age, so that I may rest. What else would I like to say? To tell the truth, my work is well known. Almost always, starting from when I was appointed to the diplomatic service, this work has been quite visible. It has lasted almost half a century. I am deeply grateful to you, comrade deputies, for the joint work in these first years of the great restructuring.

All of our people and the Communist Party are engaged in implementing majestic plans. New tasks are coming up too for those elected by the people, the deputies. The improvement of the political system and the completion of the creation of a socialist legal state will demand vast efforts. But the Communist Party and its Central Committee are fully resolved to implement a bold and well-founded program for the development of the country.

The enrichment of Soviet democracy and glasnost are a powerful source from which Soviet people draw strength for new achievements in the sphere of internal life and in conducting the Leninist policy of peace in international affairs.

I believe in the mighty strength of our ideas and principles. With this belief, our people have traversed a difficult but at the same time heroic path since the Great October Revolution. We all know what sacrifices this required at various stages of the history of the Soviet state.

But the country of socialism—I repeat: the country of socialism—not only survived, it even found more strength to move forward, to progress in a confident manner. Yes, there were disruptions in our country's history. They are well known. We justly and decisively condemn them. But since October 1917, the star of socialism has always been shining. It was lit up so that it would never fade in the Land of the Soviets.

These days, people expect contributions to the restructuring from soviets on all levels: A worthy contribution to those grand plans that have been outlined by the party. The experience of the past teaches us that in order to tackle the great causes that face the country, our Leninist party needs not only a clear head and Herculean

[bogatyrskiy] shoulders, but it also needs the unity of its ranks. This was proved by our entire post-October history. The unity of the party ranks and its unity with the people is necessary for solving the serious tasks that confront us, in the same way that air is necessary for man. We possess such a unity, including within the Central Committee and in its Politburo. And glancing round our great country, I would like to express the feeling that I am continually experiencing: the confidence in tomorrow. What is it that inspires this confidence? Firstly, in our country live splendid people, capable of solving the most difficult tasks. Secondly, we have a wise and sagacious party, which is closely linked with the people. Thirdly, a leadership has come into being in our country that is worthy of the great tasks facing the country in the new crucial stage of development of the Soviet society and in the new stage of development of the international situation. The party and the country will, together with other fraternal parties and countries, continue to wage a tireless struggle for peace among peoples. This is our primary cause, the sense of our life and of the life of our children and grandchildren.

Thank you, comrades deputies, for the trust which you have showed me. I have deeply valued, and continue to value, this trust. [applause]

[Khristoradnov] Comrade deputies, following the plenum of the party's Central Committee which took place yesterday, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Councils of the Elders of the chambers are submitting the proposal to meet Comrade Gromyko's request. Are there any other proposals? There aren't any.

The following draft resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet is being submitted for your examination. Allow me to read it.

The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

The request by Comrade Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko to relieve him of his duties as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in connection with his retirement on pension will be honored.

Are there any deputies who have any comment on the draft resolution? No.

I am putting it to the vote. The deputies of both chambers vote simultaneously.

Who is in favor of adopting the resolution, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands.

Who is against? None.

Who has abstained? None.

The resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet has been adopted.

Comrade deputies, the floor is given to Comrade Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[Zaykov] Comrade deputies, yesterday's CPSU Central Committee plenum examined the question of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Proceeding from the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, the Central Committee plenum submitted a proposal recommending that the present session elect as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. [applause] Comrades, in making that decision, the Central Committee plenum was guided by Lenin's principles of developing genuine people's power. The nomination of the general secretary of the Central Committee to the post of head of our state will correspond to the highest interests of the country. We must reinforce the sovereignty of the soviets with the prestige of the party and thereby raise the effectiveness of the functioning of our political system to achieve a still more successful fulfillment of the large-scale tasks of restructuring, the socialist renewal of the country, and the policy of new thinking on the world scene. On the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Council of Elders of both chambers, I offer for examination of the extraordinary session the proposal to elect Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. [applause]

[Khristoradnov] Comrade deputies, are there any other proposals? No. A draft decision is submitted for your examination: The Supreme Soviet of the USSR decides to elect Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Are there any observations on the draft? None. I put it to the vote. The deputies of both chambers will vote simultaneously. Who is in favor of adopting this decision, please raise your hands. [slight pause] Please put them down. Who is against? [slight pause] None. Are there any absentions? [slight pause] None. Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is unanimously elected chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. [applause]

The floor is given to Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. [applause]

[Gorbachev] Esteemed comrade deputies, I have taken the floor not to make an extensive programmatic speech. There is no need for this, I think. We have a deeply elaborated strategy and a program of restructuring that has been thought through and, one might say, achieved through suffering. It has been set forth in the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent plenums of the

party Central Committee and finally in the decisions of the 19th party conference. Our goals and tasks have been defined, and the main directions for practical activity are clear.

In my speech I want above all to express gratitude for the great trust that you have shown me by electing me to the highest state post. In taking on these duties, I clearly understand all the responsibility that is being entrusted to me. I want to assure you that the trust shown in me and the powers that have been given to me will be used fully in the interests of the country and the Soviet people. In this post I see ahead of me the task of doing everything necessary to strengthen and enhance the authority of the soviets and transform them really into bodies of complete people's power.

Three and one-half years ago a resolute turn was made toward profound restructuring of the main aspects of our social life—a turn of tremendous importance for the destiny of our country. Adopting the course of restructuring, we have proceeded by depending on the economic and spiritual potential that has been created in the country, developing the initiative and spontaneous activity of the working person, and resolutely ridding ourselves of the distortions and corruptions of the principles of socialism, so as to reveal more fully the potential, to bring the country up to a present-day level in the shortest possible time, and to achieve a substantial improvement in the material and social conditions of people's lives.

We can quite rightfully say that this was a historic choice. Restructuring has radically changed the moral and political climate in the country and has gained the support of the working people, who are becoming increasingly actively involved in implementing it. Restructuring and the renewal of society have now entered a new period. Stormy discussions and meetings, and analysis of the mistakes of the past are now indispensable. What is needed is practical progress and real improvement in the state of affairs in all spheres of our work, particularly where it is a question of people's living conditions.

People can well see and understand our problems and difficulties, but they are demanding more decisive and energetic actions. The working people are dissatisfied with the way in which our local soviet and economic organs and public organizations and many party committees operate. The moment has indeed already arrived when there is no use waiting for further instructions from above. The decisions that have been adopted must be implemented actively everywhere, in each collective and in each town and village. And here the soviets have a most important role as the true organ of the sovereignty of the people.

What is the practical manifestation of this role? How is its implementation to be seen today? Primarily it lies in resurrecting the Leninist spirit and style of the soviets and making them, in the full sense of the word, both of the people and authoritative, assertive, energetic, and businesslike defenders of the citizens' interests, mighty engines for the development of their own village, town, rayon, oblast, or republic. The role of the soviets lies in uncovering the maximum possibilities of popular initiative and informal participation by the broadest masses in resolving all issues through the institution of the right to vote, through the public organizations and movements with which the soviets should interact constantly and closely, as well as through any other forms that come into being in the practice of restructuring that show themselves to be expedient and productive.

The soviets must become the true supreme masters in their own territory and must correct the abnormal situation that has come about in many places as a consequence of the dominance of narrow departmental interests. It is extremely important for the local soviets to act quicker to master the new methods of managing the economy and to take into their own hands matters concerning supplying people with foodstuffs and industrial goods, housing construction and its fair distribution, the development of services, safeguarding legality and public order, and improving the environment. The principles of self-financing, self-sufficiency, and self-government must be introduced everywhere, glasnost must be asserted and the initiative of local organs and the public locally must be stimulated.

It is clear that the quicker a law on local self-government and local economy is prepared and adopted the more actively this will proceed. Nothing must be put off until later. What can be done today must be the object of the concerns and decisions of soviets at all levels today. The soviets can only cope with their new tasks if first and foremost they restructure themselves and their own style and methods of work.

It will be necessary to fill with concentrated work every session, the sittings of the permanent commission and the executive committee [singular noun as heard] and each day of deputies' powers, and to monitor the solution of all those questions that are acutely posed by reality. A great deal of work awaits soviets at all levels in connection with the development of our state as a state subject to the rule of law, with a qualitative upsurge in society's legal sophistication. It is precisely in that way—by increasing and developing the role of the soviets—that we will achieve a rational division of rights and obligations between the party, soviet, and economic bodies and public organizations. I am convinced that, in the conditions actually existing in our country, such a solution is the optimal way to developing restructuring, boosting the effectiveness of the soviets, and to a legal socialist society founded on an identity of objectives and each person's responsibility for his own activity. It is precisely by these criteria and by the progress of restructuring that we will measure all subsequent practice.

Comrade deputies, reality requires that the remaining term in power of the current USSR Supreme Soviet be used to the greatest effect. It is necessary to impart fresh impetus and to enrich the content of the work of the sessions of the Supreme Soviet as a whole, its Presidium, commissions, and deputies. In accordance with the decisions of the 19th party conference, the draft laws on changes and additions to the Constitution and on the elections of USSR people's deputies are now being completed. They will soon be submitted for broad, nationwide discussion; and then, in November, it is intended to present them for the consideration of the Supreme Soviet. After the adoption of those laws, preparations will begin for the elections to the country's supreme organ of power. A newly elected Congress of People's Deputies will formulate a new structure for the central state bodies. Later, this work will be carried out in the republics and in the localities.

This process is a very responsible one and it calls for great attention from our whole party. It will be necessary to deal with many new problems and to assimilate new approaches and methods of work, especially in light of the demarcation of functions between party and state bodies. The party will, in the most active manner, promote the enhancement of the role of the soviets and the development of their independence, initiative, and responsibility when tackling the varied economic and sociocultural tasks.

The soviets, having shouldered the main burden of state work, must, in actual fact and everywhere, become the active conductors of the party's economic, social, and nationalities policy. As we develop the whole work of enhancing the role of the soviets, we must, of course, draw on the rich experience accumulated by the Supreme Soviet and all the soviets in our country. At the same time, it is necessary to fearlessly introduce new forms that are demanded by restructuring. It is impossible to get by here with the old arsenal. The times are different today, conditions are different, and the tasks are new and more voluminous.

Alongside the solution of the most important questions of domestic policy, the activity of the country's supreme organs of power in respect to the implementation of Soviet foreign policy undoubtedly will grow.

In recent years Soviet foreign policy has become dynamic and forward-moving. Our course in international affairs is clear. It is a course for eliminating the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, for normalization in international relations, for setting up equal and mutually advantageous ties among the countries and peoples of the world, for broad cooperation in the most varied spheres, and for providing each people with the right to free choice of their own destiny. It is warmly approved by the Soviet people, enjoys the support of our socialist friends, meets with ever greater understanding among broad circles of the international public, and it is already bearing fruit. We will continue undeviatingly to pursue this course further; and here, in the conduct of Soviet foreign policy, the role of the Supreme Soviet, its Presidium, the standing commissions, and the parliamentary group is exceptionally great.

Comrades, yesterday at the Central Committee plenum the many years of work by Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko at all the posts entrusted to him by the party and the Soviet state were assessed on their merits. I believe that I am expressing the opinion of all deputies, if, on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet, I heartily thank Andrey Andreyevich for his tireless work for the good of the people and of our country. [applause]

Comrade deputies: As already reported, the plenum of the party Central Committee supported Comrade Petr Nilovich Demichev's request that he be released from his duties as first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in connection with his retirement on pension. The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Councils of Elders of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities make this motion for examination by the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet. At the same time, the CPSU Central Committee plenum recommended Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo and deputy of the Supreme Soviet, for election as first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Comrade Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov is a Russian, has been a member of the party since 1955, and is a doctor of juridical sciences. He worked for a long time in the Council of Ministers and in the Supreme Soviet. He was head of the Secretariat of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and took an active part in preparing the draft of the USSR Constitution and other draft laws. In 1976 and 1977, and subsequently, since 1983, he has worked in the party Central Committee. In 1987 he was elected secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He was engaged in questions of the development of the state system, democracy, and legality.

For your examination I propose the election of Deputy Lukyanov as first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

In conclusion, comrades, I would like once more to thank you heartily for your trust and express the hope for your constant support for my work. Thank you. [applause]

[Khristoradnov] Comrade deputies! Let us submit the proposal to release Comrade Petr Nilovich Demichev from his duties as first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in connection with his retirement on pension. Are there any other proposals? No. Let us vote. The deputies of both chambers are voting simultaneously.

Who is in favor of releasing Comrade Demichev from his duties as first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium? Please raise your hands. Please lower them. Who is opposed? No one. Are there any abstentions? No. The proposal is adopted.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has submitted the proposal to elect Deputy Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov as first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Are there any other proposals? There aren't any. I am putting this matter to the vote. The deputies of both chambers vote simultaneously.

Who is in favor of electing Comrade Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, please raise your hands. Please lower your hands. Who is opposed? No one. Are there any abstentions? No.

Comrade Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov has been unanimously elected first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. [applause]

Comrade deputies, we are moving to the next point on the agenda of the session: changes in the composition of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Allow me to grant the floor on this matter to Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

[Ryzhkov] Comrade deputies, in the course of restructuing and the reform of the political system, the role and responsibility of the USSR Council of Ministers in resolving the tasks facing our country increases.

The necessity naturally arises of making more rational placements of leading cadres in the USSR Council of Ministers and its Presidium. In connection with this, allow me to present for your consideration a proposal to introduce certain changes in the composition of the government.

Comrade Aleksey Konstantinovich Antonov, who is deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has submitted a request to be tranferred onto a pension due to age. The USSR Council of Ministers considers it possible to satisfy his request. I would like to note that Aleksey Konstantinovich has carried out a great amount of work as deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. He has also devoted much strength and energy in the post of permanent representative of our country in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The proposal is made to the USSR Supreme Soviet to free Comrade Antonov from the duties of deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers in connection with his retirement on a pension. At the same time, it is also intended to free Comrade Antonov, in accordance with the established procedure, from the duties of permanent representative of the USSR at CEMA.

Further, taking into account the importance of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community and the new demands that the party Central Committee and the government are putting forward in connection with the necessity for accelerating and deepening socialist economic integration, the USSR Council of Ministers considers it appropriate to make use of the experience of Comrade Nikolay Vladimirovich Talyzin in this sphere and to appoint him as deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and permanent reprsentative of the USSR at CEMA, freeing him from his duties as first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and also as chairman of the Bureau of the USSR Council of Ministers for social development.

It is proposed to appoint Comrade Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova as deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers with responsibility for social and cultural issues. Her experience in working in light industry, the AUCCTU and, in recent years, in the party Central Committee will also be useful in Comrade Biryukova's fulfillment of her new duties in this important area of our policy. It is also of no small importance that the female segment of the population of our country should be represented in the leadership of the USSR Council of Ministers.

In the adoption by the USSR Supreme Soviet of these proposals on the candidatures of deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, it is also intended to confirm in the prescribed manner Comrade Talyzin as the USSR's permanent representative at CEMA, and Comrade Biryukova as chairman of the Office for Social Development of the USSR Council of Ministers, relieving Comrade Talyzin of these duties.

Comrades, in connection with the election of Comrade Viktor Mikhaylovich Chebrikov as secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the proposal is submitted to appoint Comrade Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov as chairman of the USSR State Security Committee. He is now working as deputy chairman of this committee. I request that the USSR Supreme Soviet examine the submitted proposals.

[Khristoradnov] Comrade deputies, proposals regarding some changes in the composition of the USSR Council of Ministers have been submitted for your examination. Do the deputies have any comments on these proposals? No.

Please, let us vote on the proposals submitted by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov. The deputies of both chambers vote simultaneously.

I am putting to the vote the proposal to relieve Deputy Aleksey Konstantinovich Antonov of the duties of deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. Those in favor of this proposal, please raise your hands. Please lower your hands. Those against? None. Those abstaining? There aren't any. The proposal has been adopted.

The proposal regarding Comrade Talyzin's appointment as deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and regarding relieving him of the duties of first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers is put to the vote. Those in favor of this proposal, please raise your hands. Please lower your hands. Those against? None. Are there any abstentions? No. The proposal is adopted.

The proposal regarding the appointment of Comrade Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova as deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers is being voted on. Those in favor of this proposal please raise your hands. Please lower your hands. Those against? There aren't any. Are there any abstentions? No. Comrade Biryukova has been appointed deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

I am putting to the vote the proposal to relieve Comrade Viktor Mikhaylovich Chebrikov of his duties as chairman of the State Security Committee. Those in favor of this proposal please raise your hands. Please lower your hands. Those against? There aren't any. Are there any abstentions? No. The proposal has been adopted.

The proposal regarding the appointment of Comrade Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov as chairman of the USSR State Security Committee is being voted on. Those in favor of this proposal, please raise your hands. Please lower your hands. Those against? There aren't any. Are there any abstentions? No. The proposal is adopted.

Comrades deputies, all matters on the session's agenda have been examined. I declare the special session of the USSR Supreme Soviet closed. [end recording]

Television Carries Report

LD0110144888 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1130 GMT on 1 October carries a "Novosti" news bulletin entirely devoted to the proceedings of the 1 October session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The bulletin consists of Gromyko's 7-minute speech, Zaykov's 2-minute speech, Gorbachev's 14-minute speech, and Ryzhkov's 4-minute speech linked by announcer-read reports over video. The video reportage opens with the leadership entering the presidium.

The first row of the presidium, from left to right, consists of five unidentified officials, Khristoradnov, Voss, three unidentified officials, and Paton.

The second row of the presidium: Ligachev, Ryzhkov, Gromyko, Gorbachev, Razumovskiy, Lukyanov, Biryukova, and Vlasov.

The third row of the presidium: Shevardnadze, Chebrikov, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, and Shcherbitskiy.

The fourth row of the presidium: Medvedev, Nikonov, Yakovlev, Slyunkov, Talyzin, Maslyukov, Yazov, Solovyev, and Baklanov.

Gromyko is shown delivering his speech. After he returns to the presidium he is shown shaking hands with Ryzhkov, then Ligachev.

After Gorbachev is elected chairman of the Presidium, as the applause starts the camera focuses on the presidium. Zaykov rises to his feet applauding, immediately followed by Slyunkov, then Nikonov and others. The rest of the deputies in the body of the hall are then shown rising to their feet. Gorbachev is shown standing with the rest, but soon sits and gestures to the others to do likewise.

During Gorbachev's speech, the camera varies between shots of him and of the presidium and hall. Among those shown on the presidium are Gusev, Vedernikov, Murakhovskiy, Silayev, Antonov, Voronin, (?Kamentsev), Shcherbina, Katushev, Tereshkova, Shalayev, and Yeltsin. At one point Akhromeyev is shown sitting in the body of the hall.

Kryuchkov Appointed KGB Head

LD0110133088 Moscow TASS in English 1236 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 1 TASS—The Soviet parliament today appointed Vladimir Kryuchkov, 64, chairman of the USSR State Security Committee (KGB).

He succeeds Viktor Chebrikov who, as a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was elected at the Party Central Committee's plenum yesterday to lead a newly-formed Central Committee commission on legal policy.

Now a colonel-general, Kryuchkov has held senior posts in the state security service for more than two decades. [Moscow TASS in English at 1902 GMT on 1 October corrects Kryuchkov's rank to be "Army general"] He was a KGB deputy chairman from November 1978.

A lawyer by training, he worked for a long time in the public prosecutor service and between 1959 and 1967 was on the staff of the party Central Committee.

Political & Social

RSFSR Council of Elders To Meet 3 Oct

LD0110081288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Text] The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted a decree on the convening of an extraordinary session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. It will open on 3 October 1988 at 1500 in the Great Kremlin Palace in Moscow. A session of the Council of Elders of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet will take place at

1400 in the Great Kremlin Palace on Monday. Registration of deputies to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, who have come for the extraordinary session, is to take place in the Great Kremlin Palace on 3 October from 0900 onward.

Biryukova Attends Teachers' Day Event

PM3009181588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Oct 88 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Soviet Teachers' Holiday"]

[Text] The need for radical reform of public education was expressed by participants in a ceremonial meeting to mark Teachers' Day. It was held 30 September at the USSR State Academy Bolshoy Theater in Moscow. G.A. Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education, who addressed the meeting, and other speakers observed that the times themselves are making new demands on the schools. Democratization of the entire education sphere, wide scope for teaching collectives to show creative initiative, and active development of self-management in secondary and higher educational establishments are what constitute the real marks of Soviet school life today.

Many warm words were spoken at the soiree about the teachers—about those who devote all their talent and energies to the younger generation.

The session was attended by A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

Goals of Estonian Popular Front Discussed

PM2909135188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 88 Second Edition p 3

[Special correspondents O. Losoto and V. Shirokov account of discussion with I. Toome, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; M. Lauristin, member of the action group for organizing the Estonian Popular Front and chief of department at the Tartu University Faculty of Journalism; E. Kornel, consultant to the Popular Front action group and deputy chief of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Legal Department; and Ye. Sidorenko, secretary of the "Dvigatel" plant party committee, in Tallinn: "Meeting in the PRAVDA Correspondent's Office: Discussion on the Popular Front"; date of meeting not given; first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] In our previous article ("In the Mirror of Change," PRAVDA 30 August 1988) we wrote about the creation of the Popular Front in Support of Restructuring in Estonia. Support groups have started appearing at enterprises, on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and in educational establishments and institutions.

What are the goals and tasks of this movement—these were the topics discussed during a conversation in the PRAVDA Tallinn correspondent's office.

Taking part in the discussion were I. Toome, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; M. Lauristin, member of the action group for organizing the Popular Front and chief of department at the Tartu University Faculty of Journalism; E. Kornel, consultant to the Popular Front action group and deputy chief of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Legal Department; and Ye. Sidorenko, secretary of the "Dvigatel" plant party committee.

Correspondent: The creation of the Popular Front was first suggested in April this year on an Estonian television program. Now, at the end of September and on the eve of the Popular Front Constituent Congress which will be held 1-2 October, action group data shows that there are more than 1,500 support groups registered in the republic. What has generated such interest?

M. Lauristin: In my view, the mass support for the Popular Front can be attributed to the fact that people perceive it as a real opportunity to influence the process of society's renewal and to get involved in political life on a real human and personal basis rather than the former alienated and overbureaucratized forms. Restructuring has stirred the activeness of all strata of the population. The goal pursued by the creation of the Popular Front is to promote real power by the people, to facilitate the exercise of the people's will through elected soviet organs and the implementation of public monitoring of the state apparatus' activity. The front is needed in order to jointly oppose the bureaucracy's attempts to preserve and restore the administrative edict forms of leadership of social life, which are typical of the time of stagnation, and also to combat corruption and the abuse of power.

I. Toome: Above everything, it is necessary to bear in mind that the Popular Front was conceived in conditions when the Estonian Communist Party leadership was acting indecisively, sluggishly, and without initiative, thus losing the people's trust. This new movement forced party and state organs to take public opinion into account and had a healing effect on political life in the republic.

The Popular Front is not an alternative option. It is well known that the powers of those elected by the people were curbed, which meant that the principle of power by the people was curtailed. The Popular Front emerged on the crest of a wave of demands for expansion of soviets' rights and for working people's participation in the country's management, demands which were backed at the 19th party conference.

The recent Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum noted that the Popular Front has great opportunities to participate in the elaboration of the program for renewal, the development of the people's political culture, and the consolidation of the republic's

positions in the unionwide process of restructuring. The Popular Front can protect against mistakes in an increasingly complex social life. But we Communists must work with its members.

E. Kornel: Generally speaking, the Popular Front idea is nothing new. Similar movements, recognizing the party's leading role, operate in several socialist countries and have proved their worth. In these countries they unite democratic organizations, political parties, various trade union, women's and young people's groups, and other public associations. These movements use the most diverse forms and methods. Active participation in strengthening ties between soviets of people's deputies and their electorate, enhancing deputies' sense of responsibility, and achieving greater glasnost in the activity of executive organs could become an important sphere for the Popular Front in Estonia.

Correspondent: Meanwhile, there are people who still consider the Popular Front virtually an opposition party. Others assume that it would supplant the soviets....

M. Lauristin: The organizational principles and structure of the Popular Front are fundamentally different from those of the party. We do not maintain a personal register of Popular Front members, nor do we use a standard formula to prescribe the content and form of work by support groups and regional branches in labor collectives and local organs. The Popular Front is emerging from below as an informal movement which imposes no restrictions on its members apart from the demand to actively support the course of restructuring and participate in it not by words but by deeds.

Ye. Sidorenko: Had the Popular Front defined its relations with the Communist Party in its program and openly recognized its leading role, the positions of many labor collectives and party organizations and the Popular Front would have been brought noticeably closer together. Ultimately, it was the party that initiated restructuring....

M. Lauristin: Relations between the Popular Front and the party in the recent past took shape on a democratic basis, which means: The party has an opportunity to exercise its leading role within our movement not by bureaucratic edict methods, not through the apparatus, but by means of the active work and authority of Communists joining the Popular Front. There are quite a few of them, as a matter of fact. Furthermore, a Consultative Council has been set up under the Popular Front comprising representatives of the leadership organs of all organizations, including the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, the trade unions, and the Komsomol.

E. Kornel: I support Lauristin's view that the Popular Front is not a party. The Popular Front is a civic initiative, a civic movement, and it cannot set activities in the role of opposition as its objective. On the contrary, this movement should rally the people for the solution of the complex tasks we have been set by restructuring.

Of course, today it is necessary to think out the legal formation of such organizations and mass social movements so as to avoid ambiguous interpretations. It is necessary to accurately define the role and position of such movements within Soviet society's political system. At present, every such movement wants to be involved in almost all spheres of life. All new movements must strictly observe the Constitution and base their work on current legislation; in other words they must act within the framework of the legal system. This is why their constituent documents must be examined by the appropriate organs of power.

I. Toome: I think that at this point we must again turn to the materials of the recent Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. The following was said in this context in the report by V.I. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee: "We must renounce the fundamentally false and dangerous thesis that the party must get involved in everything. This leads to the dubious conclusion: Wherever the party does not get involved, the enemy does. This was how the emergence of many social movements was explained. And we had a corresponding attitude toward them. Many people still see it this way: If anything emerges outside the party, without instructions and consent, it must be something dubious. That was also the initial attitude toward the Popular Front and toward the 'Greens' movement...."

Today we are guided by the firm belief: Quite a few new movements are oriented toward the elimination of sore spots in our society. Deep down they are progressive as a rule, and we must develop fruitful cooperation with them. The steps taken by the Popular Front so far testify to the people's innate culture and discipline, to their readiness for genuine democracy, without which political freedom is unimaginable. Taking advantage of the party's leading role in society, we will not only assist in implementing initiatives deserving the people's support but will also respond to warning signals. After all, undesirable extremes are also possible in the development of social movements....

M. Lauristin: Quite. Extremes really can and do occur. But it seems to me that we are not threatened by the danger of extremism. It does not enjoy the Estonian people's support. The Popular Front will confidently outgrow extremist and leftist groupings because the bulk of the people want to solve their problems sensibly, in a businesslike and constructive fashion. Therefore, fears as to where the Popular Front is heading are, in my view, rooted in the old ideas and fears of "in case something goes wrong...."

Correspondent: Today it is noticeable that Popular Front support groups are organized mainly by Estonians. The nonindigenous population still has a wait-and-see attitude, treating the movement with caution and even a certain amount of wariness—and some people want to take advantage of this and dub it a "National Front." Even an international movement was created by way of a countermove, comprising mainly the Russian-speaking population....

M. Lauristin: Unfortunately, the Russian-speaking population was, until recently, considerably worse informed than Estonians about everything that was happening in the republic. The situation is changing now, the Russian-speaking part of the population is more actively reading the local press, showing an interest in Estonia's history and culture, and seeking opportunities to join the process of the republic's social and political life. This, incidentally, was given a considerable boost by the emergence of democratic movements like the Popular Front, the "Greens," and others. Naturally, many acute problems generate arguments to start with, and even conflict situations develop at times, whose solution is possible only through a quest for common points of view and common interests. The Popular Front is actively engaged in explaining the opportunities for interethnic cooperation both inside the republic and beyond its borders. A "Forum of Nationalities of Estonia" was convened specifically for this purpose, and it will subsequently become one of the Popular Front permanent organs. Let me stress that the Popular Front program says that membership is not restricted along party, religious, or national lines.

I. Toome: It is fundamentally important to ensure that the Popular Front includes representatives of all nationalities and ethnic groups living in Estonia. Under no circumstances should it restrict itself to nothing more than bombastic and euphonous declarations; it is necessary to seek specific, practical application for everybody's activeness.

Ye. Sidorenko: In the opinion of the "Dvigatel" plant's labor collective council, the Popular Front has the right to exist as a mass democratic movement in support of restructuring—especially today, when the people, shapers of their own destiny, are emerging in the arena of history. We recognize the Popular Front as a new form of people's self-management, we share its concern over excessive migration into the republic and the worsening ecological problems, and we support the idea of introducing republican economic accountability.

At the same time there was a definite national orientation, especially in early editions of the draft Popular Front program, and a somewhat biased interpretation of interethnic problems in the republican mass media when the Popular Front was being created, and this offended the national feelings of a considerable part of the nonindigenous population and made it adopt a cautious attitude toward the creation of and actions by the Popular Front. For example, we understand the Estonian people's concern for preserving their nation and consolidating the positions of the Estonian language. But is it necessary to recognize the Estonian language as the language of the state without, moreover, any firm constitutional guarantees for the use of the Russian language in the republic's territory? Especially as the prevailing situation is a result of the fact that, for many years on end—if not decades—proper attention was not given to the study of the Estonian language, primarily through the fault of local authorities. I think that this essentially administrative measure could produce a split between the two language communities instead of consolidating them for the solution of the immediate and urgent tasks of restructuring. Unilateral privileges or restrictions are impermissible in this context, let alone compulsion, for the sake of avoiding conflict situations. We are in favor of balanced and natural development of Estonian-Russian bilingualism free of all formalism.

M. Lauristin: As a matter of fact, the last Consultative Council session did discuss the draft constitutional amendments proposed by the Popular Front, including the article on the republic's state language. Naturally, the only draft version the Popular Front supports is one that clearly lays down the rights of citizens of any nationality to use their native language. The essence of our proposals is, on the one hand, to guarantee the use of the Estonian language as the language of official documents within the boundaries of our national republic, and the right of indigenous residents to be able to speak their native language everywhere in their native land. At the same time, the law must of course give all inhabitants of nonindigenous nationality a guarantee that they will be free to use the Russian language—the language of interethnic contacts in our country—in any institution. All other interpretations are based on prejudice and rumors which, unfortunately, are widely circulating about the entire activity of the Popular Front.

As regards the claim that the Popular Front is concentrating too much on sore spots of the nationalities policy, I believe that today there is an especially urgent need for a constructive solution to these problems because failure to solve them could obstruct the attainment of both the economic and sociopolitical goals of restructuring, not only in Estonia but in the other national republics.

E. Kornel: Beginning this year, working groups consisting of experts and representatives of the broad public started work under the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to help elaborate proposals for the further democratization of the life of the state and society.

One of our working groups is dealing with drafting a definition of the Estonian language's status and a draft law on the language.

The commission on questions of the democratization of state and social life, working under the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and consisting of working

group leaders, has received many letters and specific proposals from citizens, public organizations, new movements, and labor collectives. All these proposals deserve the most attentive attitude so as to elaborate drafts which, following discussion by the people, could be submitted to a session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

I. Toome: We Communists have to answer many questions and discover ways to consolidate society on the basis of the ideas of restructuring. The first and decisive step in this direction was taken by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. Now it is necessary to advance further. We must master the art of making wise political decisions that bring diverse social interests and opinions into the scope of a common denominator. Work with the Popular Front, whose ranks and leadership include quite a few Communists, will be exceptionally useful along this avenue.

At the same time, we will under no circumstances back movements and associations whose activity could damage the cause of socialism and democracy, aggravate interethnic mistrust, and spread dissension and alienation among people of different nationalities. Unfortunately, the activity by such movements in Estonia is one of today's realities and, it seems to me, the Popular Front must clearly and unambiguously define its attitude toward them.

I would like to further pursue an idea which has already been mentioned during this discussion. The national and ethnic structure of republics in our country is becoming increasingly complex. Therefore, there is a long-standing, pressing need to legally and organizationally guarantee the rights and interests of both indigenous and nonindigenous nationalities constituting a majority or a minority in republics' territories. It would probably be useful to refer to the experience in the first years of Soviet power, when there was an active creation of state structures and legal norms which were very flexible in taking the diversity of national interests into account. Furthermore, the rule-of-law state which we are creating cannot allow a situation whereby some people find themselves on the edge of law and order, because unilateral rights granted to some people are not rights but privileges, while other people's nonguaranteed rights are meaningless declarations. Neither is acceptable to genuine socialism and democracy.

Civic initiative in support of restructuring is expressed in the improvement of soviets' work, the creation of the Popular Front, the "Greens" movement, the preservation of historical monuments, and the activity of many other societies. The popular prestige and conscientiousness must become factors encouraging various forces to seek joint solutions and to reject private and group interests, personal ambitions, the pull of cheap popularity, the fanning of passions, and the promotion of politically unconsidered ultimatums. The party will never accept such practices as correct. [end Toome]

The participants in the meeting raised a number of new interesting questions and at times acute problems concerning the expansion of people's power and the democratization of social life. Of course, by no means everything here is simple and straightforward; only initial experience is being accumulated. But this experience testifies that the broad range of opinions requires points of contact and a consolidation of the forces believing in restructuring and implementing it. It is necessary to be especially tactful, respectful, and tolerant in interethnic relations. Much explanatory and organizational work is needed in this sphere.

Congress Opens 1 Oct

LD0110084088 Moscow TASS in English 0820 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Text] Tallinn October 1 TASS—The Popular Front in Support of Restructuring, a new broad-based organization in Estonia, opened its constituent congress in the Soviet Baltic republic's capital of Tallinn. The two-day forum is discussing the front's charter and general program, which have been published in the press in advance.

The front intends to become a social guarantor of renewal in society and counter bureaucratic attempts at slowing down the processes of democratization and openness.

Its activists consider it their overriding mission to assist real popular government and help the realization of the people's will through elected governing councils.

The draft program says that the popular front will show concern for the renewal policy in Estonia to have legal, economic and political guarantees and for radical reform to be effected in public education, culture and medical services.

It is provided to take regular public opinion polls and publish their findings.

One highly important issue raised by front activists is the conversion of Estonia to a system of economic self-accounting, which should boost its economy.

One in five attendees at the congress is a Communist. Many of those present are young people.

Anybody living in Estonia and over the age of 16 can join the Popular Front, regardless of whether he is a party member or not and whether he is an atheist or professes a religion.

The front admits all those supporting the updating of every aspect of economic, political and cultural life in the USSR, which has been started under the guidance of the Communist Party.

Vyalyas Reads Gorbachev Greeting

LD0110194288 Helsinki International Service in Finnish 1600 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Text] The Soviet leadership has confirmed its support to the reform movement of Estonia. Party leader Vayno Vyalyas, who spoke at the meeting of the Estonian Popular Front congress, brought to the meeting a greeting from Mikhail Gorbachev. According to Vyalyas, the Popular Front should, however, avoid aggravating the nationalistic disputes and must accept the leading role of the Communist Party. Jyrki Saarikoski reports from Tallinn:

[Saarikoski] The most important message on the first day of the Estonian Popular Front congress was included in the address given by Party leader Vayno Vyalyas. He started the address by reading a greeting from Mikhail Gorbachev. This show of support is a relief to the Estonians, and the Popular Front can thus rely on the fact that Moscow is behind its reforms. However, the address given by Vyalyas also included reservations. The Popular Front of Estonia should not try to gain a parallel position with the Communist Party and the aggravating of nationalistic questions must not draw attention away from economic reforms and other reform projects.

The address given by the leadership of the Popular Front also stressed that the mass movement, which has grown to include many thousands of people, does not intend to become a party. In the current Estonian situation this is not even politically necessary; all sorts of activities and plans for the future of the republic are already concentrated in the Popular Front. From the more than 3,000 representatives of the organizing congress, only a fifth are members of the party. However, the leadership of the movement does now seem to purposefully maintain an orderly relationship within the party and without friction. Radical young people in the corridors of the meeting hall criticized the election of representatives, saying they were undemocratic and decided beforehand. The problems of a large movement may also be starting to bother the Popular Front, which originally started spontaneously.

A considerably more difficult long-term question will be a solution to the problems of Estonia's nationalities. The Popular Front has strongly drawn attention to an increase in the Russian population. Estonia is in a special position, insofar as the Russians, who are labeled as strangers, on the one hand through the central administration control the republic. On the other hand, the Russian immigrants are mostly within the lower echelons of Estonian society, like migrant workers in the West. The proposals of the Popular Front to find a solution to the situation by stopping the immigration movement and favoring a return of immigrants are sure to make the confrontation situation more sharp in the future.

'Most Open' Debate Reported

LD0210143188 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1130 GMT 2 Oct 88

[Text] Last night thousands of people gathered at a demonstration in the Estonian capital, Tallinn, in connection with the congress being held there by the Estonian Popular Front. The debate has been fairly free and the whole Estonian nation can follow it via direct broadcasts in the radio.

[Crowd shouting "Free Estonia" in Estonian] [Reporter Anders Eriksson] "Free Estonia, free Estonia" was shouted by thousands of people who last night gathered outside the town hall here in Tallinn. There were plenty of the black-blue-white Estonian flags, a flag which was a little while ago freed from a ban, like the flags of the other Baltic republics of Latvia and Lithuania.

Approximately 10,000 people gathered to hear greetings from similar popular fronts to support the economic and political reform process. It has always been my highest wish to be free and decide on things in my own country, said a middle-aged man, who like so many other people on this night, had the Estonian flag on his coat lapel. This is not just a beginning, he said, it is a good beginning, and I myself will do everything to reach that. Openness in the discussion here at the congress of the Popular Front is remarkable. In the morning one of the leaders of the Orthodox Church demanded that young men in Estonia have the right to do their military service here and that they have the right to do weapons-free military service. Divine services and masses should be broadcast directly on television, at least on the big church holidays, Christmas and Easter. His demands were met by enormous applause.

A representantive for the support group of the Popular Front in the town of Dvigatel [as heard] told what had happened in the factory where he works when attempts were made to arrange courses in the Estonian language for the Russian-speaking workers. The management of the factory did not allow the teachers in and he himself received threats of dismissal. Our fight in the enterprise is hard, but we will win, he said.

The discussions are broadcast directly on the radio and the whole Estonian nation can follow the most open debate on democracy and national rights that has taken place in the nearly 50 years of Soviet power. At the same time, many fear that the demands will be too far-reaching and will give the conservatives arguments to fight against the process. How big that risk is is impossible to estimate today, but, at least during the congress of the Popular Front, the Estonians have showed proof of both political maturity and shrewdness. Anders Eriksson in Tallinn.

Further Report on Congress

LD0210184888 Helsinki International Service in Finnish 1600 GMT 2 Oct 88

[Text] The Estonian Popular Front, which is holding a big congress in Tallinn, has approved the movement's program. At the moment the meeting is choosing leaders for the Popular Front. For the first time in the history of the Soviet Union a popular movement is organizing itself as a political factor independently at the Communist Party. Jyrki Saarikoski reports from Tallinn:

[Saarikoski] The organizing of the Estonian Popular Front is an event for which it is difficult to find a parallel in recent history either in the Western countries or in socialism. The movement, which gathers hundreds of thousands of people to its festivities, will now also be a recognized power in Estonian society. The question is about democracy, as was emphasized several times during the meeting.

Marju Lauristin, one of the leaders of the Popular Front and a party member, said this morning directly that while the power monopoly of the Communist Party has been a fact, the slogan about the power of the soviets has been only a joke. Lauristin hoped that the power status of the party bureaucracy would end and that perestroyka would continue, so that the party and the Popular Front do not find themselves in confrontation.

The changes in the Soviet leadership this weekend have been received optimistically here in Tallinn. Many of the aims of the Popular Front, such as the right to freely nominate candidates in the elections of the soviets and the all-around strengthening of the status of the soviets, remind us of the feelings of the June CPSU Congress. One difference is, however, that the Estonian Popular Front, strengthened with national feelings, has an immediate link downwards to the movement which is at the moment changing Estonia.

Radio and television have widely and directly broadcast criticisms presented in the congress hall. One representative said that Estonia under Soviet power has been totally ruined. Another, an Orthodox priest, demanded the right to civilian service [as an alternative to military service], while a third one reminded that there are still people in Estonia who are opposed to the reforms. Despite fine speeches, both the party bureaucracy and the factory managers who are used to the old ways remain, and in this sense the reforms of Estonia are only beginning.

The aggravation of national issues can also lead the reformers into difficulties. Thus there was an address, probably the only Russian-language address at the congress, hoping for cooperation over the language barrier. Marju Lauristin also appealed for the political culture of the Estonians. The Popular Front wants at all cost to avoid being compared with Armenia, or slipping into a same sort of situation, so that realization of economic and political reforms will not be endangered. A proposal for a new constitution, published in an Estonian paper by a certain university man in his own name, indicates just how far-reaching the hopes here are. That includes suggestions of full sovereignty for Estonia with arrangements for the country to voluntarily give the Soviet Union the right to decide its foreign and defense policies at least.

'Pressing' Problems Discussed

LD0210214888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; Khi Lenk video report from Tallinn]

[Text] The constituent congress of the Estonian Popular Front ended its work in Tallinn today. Here is our correspondent Khi Lenk.

[Begin recording] [Lenk] In the course of 2 days 3,000 delegates discussed Estonia's most pressing problems. Those who spoke not only raised problems but also proposed specific ways of tackling them. And this is probably the most characteristic feature of the Popular Front's activity.

This movement originated half a year ago with the support of the broad masses. In the Popular Front people saw a real possibility to join in political life, to influence the process of renewal of society themselves, and in this way to assist the party's policy.

[V.I. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, interviewed in the meeting hall] The Estonian Communist Party, the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party, assesses the Popular Front's work precisely from the angle of restructuring, since this movement proclaims precisely that it supports restructuring and supports the revolutionary renewal which our party has now initiated in all spheres of our life. And naturally, as was also stated at the 19th party conference, the party's attitude to all such people's movements is a positive one as they help implement what we call the revolutionary renewal of society, in other words, restructuring.

[Lenk] The political changes in our society have started from above. The Popular Front is the answer to the party's courts which come from below. It is a movement where everyone's initiative is valued and everyone is given the possibility to help the real sovereignty of the people and to realize the people's will through the elected local soviets.

That is precisely what was discussed at the special session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. [end recording]

Lithuanian Park Fosters 'Soap-Box' Orators

LD0110060088 Moscow TASS in English 0529 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Text] Vilnius October 1—By ELTA correspondent Rolandas Barisas:

London's Hyde Park, or, rather its speakers' corner, has got a rival thousands of miles away, in Vilnius, the capital of Soviet Lithuania, as speeches made in the local park are as vehement as those by soap-box operators in London, Vilnius residents who visited Hyde Park claim.

As for the two parks' grass lawns, they can hardly stand comparison, they agree.

The "Hyde Park" in Vilnius got its name in late August, when more than a thousand people gathered in a park in downtown Vilnius at the call of a non-formal youth group to discuss interethnic relations, a topical issue for this union republic whose population is 20 percent non-Lithuanian and includes Russians, Poles, Belorussians, Ukrainians and Jews, according to the latest 1979 census.

The crowd in the park spoke their minds on many problems persisting despite the long-established belief that the nationalities problem has been resolved in the Soviet Union.

"No social stratum in the USSR has remained unaffected by the growing openness", said Stasis Luksas, a founder of the Lithuanian Hyde Park. "A pluralism of opinion is becoming a norm for those who could not reconcile with a rift between words and thoughts". "But the mass media are physically unable to provide the floor for all those willing to speak up. Besides, the readers give preference to expert opinions by luminaries in science, politics and economics. Hence the idea to set up a Hyde Park speakers' corner of sorts in Vilnius", Luksas admitted, adding that the city authorities had denied permission for a meeting in a city park until the enthusiasts finally drove their point home.

"As we had expected, the opening speeches were somewhat too smooth and evasive, as people had to get used to talking freely of what was on their minds and it took some time to relax and learn to be frank", the 38-year-old painter recalled.

The speakers' corner is yet far from ideal, as some speeches lack vigour, while some listeners need more tolerance.

But as a speaker in the park noted, the experience is worth it if only because it let many people see that democracy is not all joy but also means being personally responsible for what you openly say.

Further on Nagorno-Karabakh Ethnic Unrest

More on Volskiy's Appeal

NC0110084588 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 27 Sep 88

["Appeal by Representative Volskiy of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast"—ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] [No dateline as received] As you are well aware, the party and government have adopted a series of important decisions on the development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and the rapid solution of various accumulated problems there. However, apparently these are not favored by some groups of people.

During recent days the situation has become extremely aggravated in the oblast. Strikes have started in production establishments, in construction organizations, and in public transportation. Work has stopped in schools, and unauthorized rallies and marches have been held. An attack was carried out on the oblast's prosecutor, and insults have been made against the country's various bodies. Abusive acts have been carried out against the forces ensuring public law and order and against soldiers of the USSR and law enforcement officials. On 18 September a number of Stepanakert residents, responding to provocations by certain irresponsible people, started to move toward Khodzhaly village, with the intention of "punishing" the village's residents for having damaged automobiles. During clashes guns and other weapons were used.

Following this, disorders took place in Stepanakert, Shusha, and other districts—disorders such as setting fire to houses, destructive acts, the beating up of citizens, and plundering. In recent days 49 residents have been wounded, 33 Armenians and 16 Azerbaijanis. Seventeen have been hospitalized, and a resident named Shahramyan died from his wounds. More than 30 houses and buildings have been set on fire.

We express our regrets to all those who have suffered and to their families.

The incidents have led to serious tension and instability and have raised fears and mistrust among the people concerning the absence of protection against arbitrariness and the fact that their legal rights are being harshly trampled on. A genuine danger threatening the security, health, and properties of the people in the NKAO has emerged.

The party obkom and the NKAO's Soviet of people's deputies have condemned the antistate and illegal acts by those people who intend to exacerbate the tension in interethnic relations by holding banned rallies, demonstrations, and marches.

The law enforcement forces are taking measures against illegal acts, violence, and arbitrariness.

Due to the mass disorders, the USSR prosecutor has started investigations, and the situation is being studied.

However, despite activities by the soviet and law enforcement bodies and their appeals for self-control and sanity, not only is the situation not improving, it has become extremely critical and can have unforeseen consequences.

This situation does not conform with the demands of the USSR Constitution or the CPSU Central Committee's and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decisions on the NKAO.

Instead of aiming efforts toward the reestablishment of law and order and the return of normalcy to the people's lives, "self-appointed leaders" are shamelessly calling on the people to gather at illegal meetings and carry out vendettas.

This inevitably leads to interethnic discord and enmity.

It is especially disturbing to involve youths in illegal acts and in various protests and rallies. Teachers and instructors are drawing students into their strikes. Because of this, children have been deprived of their lessons, which greatly harms their learning and moral education. Obviously, this is condemned by every civilized person.

The illegal acts have taken on a [words indistinct] nature. To whose benefit is this?

This is to the benefit of those who are spreading the seeds of discord and hatred, those who fear the normalization of life in the NKAO, and those who are involved in bribery and extortion—either from one side or the other.

For this reason, the implementation of the (?abovementioned) measures is not favored—measures aimed at improving the situation, elevating the level of life, and decisively improving the people's sociopolitical conditions. This harms the essence of perestroyka, the moral atmosphere, and the revitalization of socialist production and postpones the solution of many problems.

This situation becomes intolerable, because it does not conform with our people's way of life and with the conscience of every unbiased individual. We cannot allow anarchy and disorder by any nation at the expense of the rights guaranteed by the USSR Constitution and legal benefits, nor can we allow the creation of enmity among the peoples. This is banned by all our laws.

Under these conditions, there is one path: that of combat with the instigators who have drawn the people toward the stifling of law. It cannot be allowed for socialist values, our people's future course of democratization, and the defending of the true guarantees of the Soviet people's rights and liberties to be jeopardized by irresponsible elements. When blood is shed, the state cannot remain indifferent.

In order to ensure public order and security in Azerbaijan SSR's NKAO and Agdam Rayon, and in order to defend state and public interests, a special status has been introduced.

That, certainly, will place certain responsibilities and limitations on the shoulders of the residents. However, these are temporary and necessary measures. It was with difficulty that these measures were adopted, but there was no alternative.

Martial law [zinvorakan paret] has been assigned for NKAO of Azerbaijan SSR and for Agdam Rayon. Under the martial law, the following are banned:

During the hours when the curfew is (?not in effect), demonstrations, rallies, and street marches are banned.

[Words indistinct] strikes and primarily (?services) related to the people and especially to the people's essential needs, their health, public education, and transportation, the supply of energy, gas, water, and fuel for homes and for the mass media organizations are banned. Violators will be fired from their jobs and asked to [words indistinct] (?their acts).

The following are also banned:

[Words indistinct] of elderly people from their homes without the necessary identification or documents;

The possession of arms, explosives, and other inflammable material;

The movement, without purpose and permit, of automobiles from 2100 to 0600 in Azerbaijan SSR's NKAO and Agdam Rayon;

The leaving of homes by individuals of any age between 2100 and 0600 hours and their free movement in the streets between these hours;

The abusing—physically or verbally—of those in charge of enforcing the special status.

The decrees of martial law will be announced on radio and television and should be (?strictly) observed by all the party, soviet, union, and (?other bodies), by the leaders of organizations and establishments, and by all the citizens. Violation of the decree will be decisively punished.

I appeal to the workers and communists and to all the people of Azerbaijan SSR's NKAO and Agdam Rayon, to the Armenians, the Azerbaijanis, the Russians, and all

nationalities, to remain calm and not to answer provocations, to strictly adhere to the special status conditions, to do everything possible to normalize interethnic relations and to reestablish law and order so that the people's life can be improved and the conditions created for the NKAO's future development.

Dear comrades: I express confidence that your hard-working people, with their rich history and [word indistinct] work, will correctly understand these measures.

At this decisive movement it is necessary to display wisdom, responsibility, civic maturity, and self-restraint.

[Signed] A. Volskiy, representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in NKAO. 21 September 1988.

Arutyunyan Meets Intellectuals

NC3009095388 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Yerevan, 27 Sep (ARMENPRES)—On September 23, Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, met with several representatives of authors and intellectuals of the republic. A frank discussion was held on the situation in the republic resulting from the incidents in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], and on the effective role that intellectuals can play in solving the problems faced by the republic today.

S. Arutyunyan pointed to the activities carried out recently by the republic's leadership and to those measures aimed at establishing order both in the republic and in the NKAO. From the first hours after the tense situation was created in the NKAO, and because of its concern, the republic's leadership established and has maintained permanent contact with A.I. Volskiy, the representative of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in the NKAO, as well as with party obkoms in the NKAO. Late at night on 19 September, an extraordinary meeting of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau was called and discussions were held with the first secretaries of Yerevan's regional party committees. Effective measures to prevent disorders and thoughtless acts were discussed. The republic's qualified doctors' brigade was sent to Nagorno-Karabakh immediately to help the victims of the incidents. The republic's leadership appealed to union bodies to adopt concrete steps to accelerate implementation of the decision adopted by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 18 July 1988. Certain measures are being taken.

Pointing out that literary and cultural officials are doing a great deal at this time to improve the situation and are appearing on television and writing in the press, S. Arutyunyan appealed to them to make their efforts more active in order to prevent the situation from getting out of hand and so that normalcy will be reestablished in the republic.

Generally speaking, definitive solutions to the extremely difficult problems faced by the republic are impossible without the participation of the republic's intellectuals. Whether these problems concern the NKAO or stem from negative elements, it is hard to struggle against those elements casting a shadow on our life without this participation. These topics were discussed during the recent Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum. Also, the significance of implementing the appeal by M.S. Gorbachev to the Communists and workers of Armenia and Azerbaijan was pointed out.

During the meeting G. Emin, S. Sagyan, R. Zaryan, Sh. Takhkyan, H. Matevosyan, V. Petrosyan, R. Ovsepyan, R. Davoyan, S. Muradyan, L. Margaryan, S. Vermishevan, T. Mansuryan, and H. Ghukasyan spoke about the deep concern felt by the intellectuals over the situation in the republic and in the NKAO, and they proposed a number of measures to be taken to solve the critical situation.

The participants emphasized the significance and meaning of the fraternity of the Armenian and Russian peoples and of preserving this fraternity by all possible means in difficult times.

They expressed their desire for the republic's leadership and party and soviet bodies to participate more eagerly in solving the accumulated problems of Nagorno-Karabakh. The representatives of the intellectuals pointed out that the incidents are greatly affected by the absence of unbiased reporting on the trials of those involved in the Sumgait crimes. They called attention to the fact that the people's protests against the mass media are not unfounded and that certain reports appearing in the central press and on television, with their obvious and assumed absences of information, have negative impacts on the situation. They expressed their regret that the exacerbation of the situation and its unpredictability have (?led to precautionary) measures and to the arrival of soldiers in Yerevan and some regions of the republic. The speakers expressed their desire that during the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet session discussions, matters pertaining to the NKAO's accumulated problems be discussed.

The literary and cultural officials expressed readiness to do their best to overcome the critical situation as soon as possible and to rapidly set the republic's situation in order.

Present at the meeting were V.A. Kondratyev, head of the CPSU Central Committee administrative section; G.A. Galoyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist

Party Central Committee; and G.E. Asatryan, chief of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department.

Actions, Arrests Reviewed

NC3009140888 Baku International Service in Azeri 1300 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] The God Forbid [uzden irag] Nagorno-Karabakh Committee tried to obstruct social transportation in Yerevan, the capital of the Armenian SSR, yesterday. A group of individuals tried to halt vehicles and use force against drivers on congested roads. This required immediate intervention by the forces responsible for maintaining public order.

Appropriate measures have been taken against 84 individuals who were involved in (?unlawful) activities. The cases of many of those who have been [words indistinct] have been handed over to the courts.

Soviet television has shown scenes from a number of rural areas in the Armenian SSR. The people of that republic condemned the activities of the members of the God Forbid Nagorno-Karabakh Committee, which is sowing (?discord) between the nationalities.

NKAO Improvements Noted

NC3009151588 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 30 Sep 88

[From the SOVETAKAN AYASTAN press review]

[Text] On its first page the paper carries an ARMENPRES report stating that no criminal offenses occurred in Nagorno-Karabakh yesterday. Schools, educational establishments, and technical institutions are working in the oblast. Agro-economic activities continue at the sovkhozes and kolkhozes, and curfew violations have been markedly reduced.

Yerevan 'Calm,' 'Normal'

LD3009215688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 30 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; K. Khomaryan video report from Yerevan]

[Text] [Khomaryan] Yerevan today is living a normal working life. It's true that there are reinforced details of militiamen and law-and-order forces in the streets, but all the signs are that the tension has eased. This is particularly noticeable at industrial enterpises: All 227 enterprises in the city are functioning today. The workers of Armenia have thus not been taken in by the appeals voiced at the unsanctioned rallies in Opera Square. [video shows normal street scenes; three militiamen having a cigarette] A great deal of work has been done over the past few days by the republic's party organization [as heard]. The entire party economic aktiv has been out at works and factories, talking to workers in production shops and explaining to them the full complexity of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. Together they sought ways of overcoming the situation the republic has found itself in. They were not easy conversations.

[Video shows machine-tools under construction] Our film crew shot these pictures today at Yerevan's machine-tool building association. Here too, during the difficult days of the past week, there were cases of people failing to show up for work.

[R. Sarkisyan, identified by screen caption] It is very difficult for them to answer the workers' questions, because the questions are being asked point blank, without any diplomacy or equivocation. One wonders why it is that the proceedings in the Sumgait case have still not been transferred to the USSR Supreme Court.

[Khomaryan] Yes, a great number of questions and unresolved problems have piled up both in Nagorno-Karabakh and here in our republic. In order to resolve them, however, the first thing we need is a calm and businesslike atmosphere. More and more people in Armenia are now reaching this conclusion. [video shows further street scenes]

'Special Situation' Clarified

PM3009123988 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 40, 1-7 Oct 88, (Signed to Press 29 Sep 88) p 4

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Press Center"]

[Excerpt] At a briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center, Major General V. Ignatov, chief of the USSR MVD organization and inspection administration and a member of the UN Committee on Crime Prevention and Control, dwelt on some aspects of the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. He recalled in particular that a special situation and a curfew have been introduced in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the neighboring Agdamskiy Rayon in the Azerbaijan SSR so as to safeguard public order and the safety of citizens there. At the same time the provisions of the USSR Constitution are fully in force and executive organs and social organizations continue to direct the population's economic and sociocultural life. Demonstrations, rallies, and strikes are banned. Certain restrictions have been placed on citizens. The curfew extends from 2100 hours to 0600 hours. During that time citizens are forbidden to leave their apartments without special passes and the movement of individual transport without special permits is restricted.

The special situation, V. Ignatov pointed out, must not be confused with martial law [voyennoye polozheniye], which is imposed under exceptional circumstances such as a state of war [sostoyaniye voyny] and natural disasters and takes the form of the extension of the military

authorities' powers to the civilian population. The speaker also noted that the laws of a number of Western countries provide for the declaration of a state of emergency [chrezvychaynoye polozheniye] or a state of siege [osadnoye polozheniye] in addition to martial law. At the same time additional restrictions may be imposed, such as requisitioning and deportation. Such legal concepts do not exist in our country.

In the sphere of prevention, V. Ignatov went on to say, around 600 people have been checked out during the period of the curfew—those people who were out on the street during that period. There have been cases where a man who had not managed to obtain a special pass was hurrying to work at an enterprise with continuous working. Such people were escorted to their place of work.

Measures to intensify public order have been taken in Yerevan, too, but without the introduction of the special situation and the curfew, the speaker pointed out. Around 15,000 extra people have been drafted into the law and order forces in Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Not a single crime has been committed since the introduction of these measures (21 September). The question of "compressing" the period of the curfew is already being decided. [passage omitted]

Calls To End Strike

PM0310082988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 88 p 2

["Our correspondent" report: "Yerevan, 30 September"]

[Text] There are places to visit in the evening in Yerevan. But today we had no choice. We made our way to where everybody was going—Opera Square. The situation here changes day by day. A rally attended by many thousands had only just ended. The main call by the rally organizers today was different from yesterday's. To end the strike, to go back to work, to await the decisions by the Armenian Supreme Soviet session.

The hunger strike and sit-in demonstration continue in the square. Something else on display is a show of amateur cartoons, many of which we found extremely witty. One of them showed a group of high-ranking bribe-takers, on whom people could stick paper rubles.

All who have to go to work tomorrow had already dispersed to go home. We were told at the party gorkom that over 90 percent of Yerevan's working people had been at work since early in the morning.

Yerevan Strikes Ending

PM0110184288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Situation in Yerevan"]

[Text] Yerevan, 30 Sep—All industrial enterprises have been working today in the Armenian capital and public transport has been operating without interruption.

But before, during the 10 days of the strike, the city lost R25 million. Plants were at a standstill, factories and institutions were in turmoil, and the city's essential services were disrupted. During this time Yerevan lost 17 percent of the total volume of industrial output. This loss is a tangible blow to the republic's economy. It is also bound to affect people's well-being, will take its toll on store counters, and will mean that moves into new housing are postponed.

Through the efforts of the republic's party organization and the conscious section of the working people, intelligentsia, and young people, it was possible to end the strike and start carrying out contractual deliveries. Naturally, the increase in the activity of party groups, deputies, and women's councils and the frank conversations with people in collectives bore fruit here. But are there any grounds for self-satisfaction if a handful of irresponsible loudmouths and instigators, after forcing idleness on many thousands of people—many of whom had not even contemplated stopping work—have still not abandoned their plans to destabilize the situation?

Who are these people? Why do they have such a steadfast interest in provocations and the threats of all kinds that resulted in the disruption of more than one working shift? Their credo is: Compromise restructuring, do this by hook or by crook—maybe it'll work. The most important thing is to "get the puck in the opponents' end zone." And then see what happens. A familiar hockey tactic. The speakers in Opera Square in Yerevan are using it, with some success, unfortunately.

"All the workers at the nuclear power station have proclaimed a strike," one G. Shirvanyan told a large crowd at an evening rally 26 September.

The "puck" caused consternation among the meeting participants. But the nuclear power station staff had not even thought of doing anything of the sort. But what did the provocateur care? After all, the most important thing is to destabilize the situation.

Of course, scarcely anyone can directly attack restructuring today. So its opponents seek dubious roundabout means. Lies are a typical ploy that they use in their attempt to stop the complex, slow, but correct process of normalization.

The Komsomol aktiv met at Yerevan University 28 September to adopt an appeal to workers and call on them to stop the strike. However, someone was "concerned" and immediately told the "Karabakh" committee of the threat to its plans. After a little while the notorious A. Manucharyan turned up at the university. He used all his passion and eloquence to get the students to abandon their idea. Without batting an eyelid, the emissary from "Karabakh" lied that in Charentsavan, Abovyan, and the Yerevan enterprises visited by members of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau the previous day, the number of people not working had increased. And, he claimed, he saw this with his own eyes. In fact quite the reverse was true. On 28 September twice as many people were at work in the republic as on the previous day. Comment is superfluous, so to speak.

Today life in Yerevan has its usual working rhythm. Efforts are being made to make up for the losses. Collective self-possession and the desire to rebuff those who are continuing their attempts to destroy what has been achieved are becoming increasingly established among workers.

"I think that having consolidated themselves the healthy forces will cope with both the loudmouths and the provocateurs," A.V. Kazaryan, chairman of the republic Council of War and Labor Veterans, hero of the Soviet Union, Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy, and writer, says. "We are rejecting irresponsible actions, for they lead to disorders. The adventurists and instigators are trying to exploit the situation in order to become 'heroes' and ultimately come to power. They will not succeed."

Ashot Bagarshakovich believes that the time has come to give back peace and tranquillity to people. As for Nagorno-Karabakh, we believe that all its people's problems will be solved.

Of course, the strikes have caused considerable material losses to the republic's economy. They can be calculated and covered. But who will determine the size of the moral losses inflicted on people by the false "chorus"?

Acceptance of Soldiers Cited

PM0210151588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[Report by special correspondents Colonel N. Mulyar and Lieutenant Colonel N. Burbyga: "Curfew"]

[Text] Petros Vartanyan, short, strongly built, and round-faced, said with a broad smile:

"Go ahead, please have some. You've never tasted pears like ours anywhere else. And as for the grapes, they're more like little drops of sunshine than grapes."

Vartanyan is a worker from Abovyan, a rayon center not far from Yerevan. He is around 30 years old. Together with his younger comrades, he had brought pears and grapes from his own garden to the soldiers at the post. Why?

"What do you mean, why?" Petros was sincerely surprised, and maybe even a little offended. "I've been a soldier myself, I know from my own experience how respectfully the people treat soldiers. Our people too treat them like that...."

Later, during other conversations and meetings with people in Yerevan, we often recalled this brief roadside meeting and short conversation with Vartanyan, his cordiality, but also the worried notes in his voice when he spoke of events in his ancient and blessed land.

For 10 days now Major General V. Roshchin has been playing an unaccustomed role. He is the commandant of the special region of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the Azerbaijan SSR's Agdamskiy Rayon. As is well known, a special situation was proclaimed there at 1200 hours on 21 September and a curfew was imposed. The city of Stepanakert and the oblast are divided into several sections and commandants have been appointed. Their main task is to ensure public order and the safety of the citizens living on the territory in question.

"All this," V. Roshchin said, "has led to a normalization of the situation. There has not been a single instance of violation of law and order during the special situation. The main thing is that people can live and sleep in tranquillity. A number of enterprises supplying the population with food are operating, and classes have begun in schools and rural vocational and technical schools. Public transport has begun to operate."

We asked how the population had taken the introduction of the curfew.

"At first people's attitude was wary: What's the purpose?" G. Asatryan, chief of an Armenian Communist Party Central Committee department, said. "Now most realize that it is an enforced measure necessary to ensure the population's safety. The overwhelming majority of the people support this decision."

His account was supplemented by Maj Gen Roshchin:

"Each day I come into contact with many people. They say: 'Thank you, it has been possible to get life back to normal. The blackmail and psychological pressure that we experienced at the hands of members of the disbanded "Krunk" Committee are over.'

"Together with the internal troops and the militia, we have confiscated hundreds of firearms and dozens of bottles containing an incendiary mixture from extremists belonging to both ethnic groups. People realize that

all this could have been used to harm them. 'Working people,' they say, 'do not want the ethnic strife. It is to the advantage of people engaged in the black economy and corrupt wheeler-dealers.'"

We saw many instances of a kind attitude toward servicemen in Yerevan. But we also learned of something else: In the rayons where the special situation has been introduced there are widespread rumors that servicemen are on the rampage against the local population and engaging in plunder. All these fabrications were carefully checked by personnel of the USSR Prosecutor's Office. Not one of the fantasies was corroborated. It is clear who needed them, and for what purpose.

"Their aim," Colonel General M. Tyagunov, representative of the Defense Ministry, said, "is to undermine the prestige of the army, which has come to the assistance of the two neighboring peoples at a difficult moment."

The workers of the Kanakerskiy Aluminum Plant whom we met said the same thing.

...There is a State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate checkpoint when you drive into Yerevan. Militia Senior Lieutenant M. Akopyan, senior inspector in the highway patrol service, and Militia Master Sergeants M. Karapetyan and Sh. Eviyan carefully check papers, look in the trunks and interiors of cars, and make sure that firearms are not shipped into the city. They operate efficiently and politely, and the whole check takes just 1 or 2 minutes.

"The workload is colossal," Militia Sr Lt Akopyan says. "Each day around 40,000 vehicles pass along the road."

Life is calm in Yerevan at the moment. By and large, all industrial enterprises are in operation, and classes are being held in the schools. The city's essential services are operating efficiently. The stores are open and the markets are filled with the fall wealth of produce from the Ararat Valley. We saw for ourselves that attitudes toward the servicemen are changing. A contribution has been made to this by the recent appeal from the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers to the republic's Communists and working people, and also by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution expressing concern over the prevailing situation, which is fraught with grave consequences, and outlining ways of emerging from it.

Today in shops, at construction sites, and in institutions you often see personnel of the republic, city, and rayon party organizations. They are meeting with those who succumbed to emotion and irresponsible slogans. But, unfortunately, it is difficult to forecast the intensity of feelings and emotions. The situation in Yerevan is changing daily. There are still many people in Opera Square. Rallies are being held.

We were able to discuss a great deal with workers in Yerevan. And they all expressed the following thought: We would like to believe that the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh will be solved within the framework of the law. It is important not to fall for the provocations of ambitious and corrupt people.

Meanwhile, a special situation has been introduced in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and in Agdamskiy Rayon. A curfew is in operation.

'Karabakh Committee' Criticized

PM0110193588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Oct 88 First Edition p 6

[Report by special correspondents G. Ovcharenko and A. Chernenko under general heading: "Degree of Trust"]

[Text] Yerevan—On our return from Stepanakert we saw a much smaller crowd in Opera Square. There were a few people on hunger strike "by way of protest." We also heard our newspaper's name mentioned.

"They are discussing the article 'Who Stands To Gain,'" our driver said. "It was quite a body blow to 'Karabakh.' And to those whose names were openly mentioned."

Yes, the face of the square is changing. On the last day of September people whose hands were callused by work were no longer to be seen there—it was mostly young people and pupils in the senior grades.

Meanwhile, practically all enterprises have begun to work. Maybe only the faces of personnel of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee are looking a bit more tired. Well, it isn't easy for the new leadership to gain trust and prestige—especially in such complex conditions. (When, for instance, a provocateur shouts that the nuclear power station workers are on strike, it's easy to imagine how this inflames the atmosphere.) But, judging by the fact that telephones at the Central Committee ring almost nonstop and people are taking everyday requests there, the degree of trust felt in the headquarters of the republic's Communists is growing.

Yes, thanks to the active position of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the party-soviet aktiv, "Karabakh's" stock among the population is now falling, in our view. More and more.

"The collectives of the 'Zakavkazkabel' Association, which was recently visited by S. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the 'Elektropribor' Association, the 'KanAZ' plant, Ministry of Light Industry enterprises, and a number of others are setting examples in understanding the situation," L. Chakhmakhchan, chief of a Central Committee department, told us.

More and more people are repudiating the reckless position of the 'Karabakh' committee members. And here is something that maybe came as a surprise to many people: Kh. Grigoryan, driver in the No 2 taxi pool, has appeared on republican television. Many people remember him not as a rank-and-file activist but as the chairman of the Yerevan cab drivers' "Karabakh" committee.

"But I realized what an adventure its leaders were dragging people into. I condemn the committee's actions. If it is trying to forcibly compel people not to work and thereby to broaden the scope of the strikes, this shows that people are not voluntarily following 'Karabakh' and that it is politically bankrupt."

...Khachik Grigoryan has applied for admission to the CPSU.

'Thousands' of Refugees Noted

PM0110193788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Oct 88 First Edition p 6

[Correspondent Z. Kadymbekov report under the general heading: "Degree of Trust"]

[Text] Baku—The most complex problem is the refugees. I realized this when I visited rayons bordering the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. Agdam is the administrative center of an Azerbaijani rayon, and the square is blocked by armored personnel carriers and patrols. Car trunks and passes are carefully checked on entry to the rayon. The situation is the same as in Stepanakert—a curfew from 2100 to 0600 hours.

According to Major General of Militia K. Mamedov, the republic's deputy minister of internal affairs, there are 48 Armenian houses in the rayon center. They are all being specially watched to ensure that no one suffers and no material damage is caused to the families.

"The special situation [osoboye polozheniye] in Agdam," Party Raykom First Secretary S. Murtuzayev explains, "is more a precautionary measure than a real necessity. So far there have not been any incidents here. But the migrants—Azerbaijanis from Stepanakert—are arousing alarm and concern. As of today, we have temporarily settled 177 families on the rayon's territory—around 1,000 people! Something that is causing additional difficulties is the fact that certain Azerbaijani villages on the territory of the NKAO are not being supplied with foodstuffs. We are having to make up food convoys and send them there under strong military protection."

In conversation with local residents you sense the need for authentic and full information. People can grasp little from the short television reports. Prosecutors working in the oblast center also dodge questions about what investigations are currently under way.

Meanwhile, as PRAVDA has already written, Armenian refugees from Shusha have made their way to Stepanakert. They are not there of their own choosing. They have been through a lot.

Yes, refugees in peacetime. There are thousands of them on the roads of the two republics. They must be housed and fed.... It is a most complex problem that must be solved urgently. "How much can you take," one old man asked me, "it's time to give people their homes back. When are the authorities going to resolutely tackle those who are sowing poisonous seeds of strife and enmity between fraternal peoples? It's time, high time, they were called to account."

'Normalization' Under Way

LD0210184988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Oct 88

[Text] A normalization process is under way in Yerevan. Listen to what our special correspondent in that town, Leonid Lazarevich, has to say:

[Begin recording] [Lazarevich] This process is under way. It is difficult but constant. All 227 enterprises in the town worked on Saturday. The overwhelming majority of workers did not respond to the irresponsible calls for strikes. But there are still a lot of people in Opera Square. Unauthorized meetings continue there. There are patrols in the streets, and armored personnel carriers on the main town square. My colleague Koryun Khomaryan and I had an interview today with Grigoriy Goriginovich Grigoryan, deputy minister of internal affairs of the republic.

[Khomaryan] Yesterday was Saturday, then it was Saturday night, and now it is already Sunday. What has the operational situation been over these 2 days?

[Grigoryan] The situation on Saturday and today has turned out relatively favorable. Only one serious crime has been committed in the way of criminal investigation. Overall the situation in the town and republic has stabilized. Normal life is going on in all towns and settlements. There are no strikes here as such these days, not even partial ones. All enterprises and institutions are working normally and public transport is also working normally. All the same, meetings are still going on here. An unauthorized meeting was held here in Yerevan yesterday.

[Khomaryan] [words indistinct].

[Grigoryan] Yes, there will be a so-called information meeting at the Opera Square in Yerevan. We have an authorized meeting today in Charentsavan.

[Khomaryan] [Word indistinct] problem of Nagorno-Karabakh?

[Grigoryan] Mainly questions connected with the economic problems which have arisen. I believe that we will gradually manage to normalize the situation. This is first and foremost a result of the work, the specific work, being done by party and soviet bodies, especially in the labor collectives, and naturally with a certain stepping up of the activity of the law enforcing bodies in ensuring public order. Particular attention is being paid in this work to preempting situations building up at the mass gatherings of people, especially representatives of young people, in particular in our Opera Square.

[Khomaryan] At yesterday's meeting, how many people were there?

[Grigoryan] Yesterday's meeting is reckoned at 25-30,000. Previously more people used to gather. Obviously a process of (?definition) is going on, a process of thinking through more critically all that has happened.

[Lazarevich] Nevertheless, the situation cannot be described as normal.

[Grigoryan] I quite agree with you, that even today the situation cannot be regarded as normal. There is tension, it remains tense. The tension causes anxiety, and obviously through our joint efforts we must achieve a complete normalization of the situation in the republic, because it arouses a response in other regions, and naturally in the country as a whole. [end recording]

Yerevan Tensions 'Easing'

AU0210190388 Paris AFP in English 1837 GMT 2 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, Oct 2 (AFP)—About 100,000 people met in Yerevan, the capital of Soviet Armenia, on Sunday to discuss recent developments of the Nagorno-Karabakh issue as tensions were easing, Armenian nationalist sources said.

"This was a briefing and not a demonstration," Ambarstum Galastyan of the 11-member Karabakh committee said.

The committee has coordinated the nationalist protest in Armenia over the past months.

Mr. Galastyan added that rallies in the city's Opera Square would now be held once a day and not twice, as "the people returned to work" since the committee's call on Friday to end a two-week general strike.

The strike was called to protest Moscow's refusal to transfer the Armenian-majority region of Nagorno-Karabakh from the neighbouring southern Soviet republic of Azerbaijan to Armenia.

Soldiers were still stationed in the city but keeping a low profile, the nationalist militant said.

"We'll wait and see if there are any changes" after the reshuffle of the Soviet leadership at last week party meetings, he continued.

But he warned that strikes might be resumed if Moscow failed to meet the demands of Armenia's nationalists.

The Kremlin has reacted to protests and strikes in Nagorno-Karabakh by declaring a curfew in the autonomous region.

Armenian Delivery Shortfalls Affecting Economy

PM3009152988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Sep 88 Second Edition p 6

[Article by V. Khovrin, department chief of the SEVERNYY RABOCHIY newspaper: "Conveyer on Starvation Rations; Yaroslavl Enterprises Are Lodging a Claim Against Violators of Contractual Obligations From Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia"]

[Text] The noise of machinery is coming from the plant. The usual working rhythm.... But the Yaroslavl shipbuilders have been living in a state of alarm for many weeks: Deliveries have been disrupted. The assembly line is just about getting by on meager "rations"—there are not enough diesel generators or electric motors. The reason? You have to look beyond the confines of the shipyard. The people of Yaroslavl are asking their partners: "When will you fulfill your contractual obligations?" But Armenia cannot give any specific answer. There are meetings and strikes there.

"Let's be frank, the situation is hopeless," shop chief V. Yastreb explained. "We get components from the Khabarovsk 'Daldizel' plant, and that plant fits the diesels with generators from the 'Armelektromash' production association. Everything was fine until July. Then the situation changed drastically. Yerevan severely reduced the shipment of its output. There are diesels but there are no generators for them in Khabarovsk. Somehow some were brought there by air. Our plant met the transportation expenses. When the diesel generators finally arrived, the work had to start up once again: dismantling the main motor, taking everything out, and putting it back again. This meant additional expenses for us: The wage fund lost R2,300. Now the situation is becoming increasingly worse. A rescue tug stands in the shop. The diesel generators for it have also failed to arrive."

Everything is interconnected in the single organism of the country's national economy. If a thread breaks in one place, the losses snowball someplace else. One trawler, for example, catches up to 3,500 tonnes of fish in a season. But if it is still standing in the building slip? And if they have not managed to steer it through the Volga locks before the frosts and ice arrive? The result is that thousands of tonnes of fish will not reach the store counter.

"Our misfortunes do not end here," says Yu. Beglov, deputy chief of the plant's foreign cooperation department. "We concluded a direct contract for delivery of electric motors with one Armenian enterprise. We 'match' them with pumps and send them to consumers, particularly to the 'Leninskaya kuznitsa' plant in Kiev. That plant, in its turn, manufactures naval steam generators which are also exported. Last week we called Armenia and asked: 'When are you going to ship the output?' There was only one man in the sales department, and that person had come in by chance. He said: 'We have come to a standstill, we will not be able to do anything.' They failed to deliver almost 300 electric motors. The order cannot be transferred to another enterprise. The plant that we need is only to be found in Armenia."

It is not only with Armenia that Yaroslav shipbuilders' ties have been broken. This is what V. Margolin, director of the Yaroslavl radio manufacturing plant named for the USSR's 60th anniversary, said: "Armenian and Azerbaijani plants supply goods to our collective. We felt the first major disruptions in deliveries in the spring. But then the situation was partially rectified owing to transfers of orders to Ukrainian and RSFSR enterprises. All the same the cost of the strikes was too high. In 8 months there was a shortfall in deliveries to trade enterprises of about 100,000 items worth R1 million. Since April we have been forced to transport output from these plants with our own forces—send a brigade of workers, pay for the trip. They send the goods by air and road. Tens of thousands of rubles have already been lost in this. I have just received a telegram from our representative: 'The plant has not been working for a week.' As before we are being let down by labor collectives in the cities of Echmiadzin, Kamo, and Stepanakert. From this year we began producing medical equipment for treating urinary calculosis. They have been developed at experimental level [na urovne izobreteniy] and are very much needed by our health service. But their production is being held back. This equipment was also sent to Armenia."

Events in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, I think, have nothing in common with restructuring, but only harm it.

Police Instructed on Handling Youth Disorders

PM0310095788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Oct 88 Second Edition p 3

["Reply to Criticism" by V. Maksimov, deputy chief of the USSR MVD Maintenance of Public Order Main Administration: "'Set-Piece Pitched Battles'"]

[Text] The USSR MVD has made an on-the-spot study of the circumstances and causes of the group violations of public order in the city of Morshansk, Tambov Oblast, described in the report "Set-Piece Pitched Battles" published 21 August 1988.

Serious shortcomings in the organization of precautionary, preventive, and educational work with young people and teenagers were one cause of the group hooligan manifestations. The cultural program of the city culture center, the park of culture and rest, and the clubs are not of an educational nature, mainly pursue material goals, and are limited, as a rule, to holding dances. The two teenagers' clubs opened with the help of the Komsomol city committee have no material base and can accommodate no more than 100 teenagers. The public, in the persons of members of voluntary people's militia detachments and Komsomol operational detachments, had ducked the maintenance of public order.

In the course of the check substantial shortcomings were exposed in the organization of the work of Morshansk City Internal Affairs Department. It fails to ensure active prevention of offenses on the basis of cooperation with labor collectives, public formations, and the Komsomol. Control over the work of militia details was slack. Personnel training in the tactics of operating in extreme situations was inadequately organized.

Militia Colonel V. Gornostayev, chief of Tambov Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration Maintenance of Public Order Department, was severely reprimanded for serious shortcomings in controlling and organizing the operational-service activity of Morshanskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department and for showing too little exactingness toward subordinates. Militia Major N. Shmelev, deputy chief (for services) of Morshanskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, was dismissed from his post. Other guilty persons were also severely punished.

Considering that similar antisocial manifestations have occurred recently in a number of the country's cities, the USSR MVD has sent to the places involved a special instruction defining additional measures to ensure public order, particularly in places where youth and other mass measures are conducted, and operational tactics for militia details in stopping offenses.

Historian Medvedev Interviewed on Stalin Era

LD2809170688 [Editorial Report] Budapest Television Service in Hungarian at 2104 GMT on 27 September carries a 41-minute interview with Soviet historian Roy Medvedev. Medvedev, speaking in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation, begins by speaking about his family, his brother who lives in the West, and his father, who was a victim of the Stalinist purges. Old film footage shows Stalin speaking to tumultuous applause. Medvedev recalls the purge of the military in the thirties, and says the exact number of victims cannot be known, for no precise data was kept, and also because many of those who carried out the orders were also liquidated.

Footage shows a university production on the Stalinist period, and there are interviews with the actors and members of the audience on what Stalin, and also restructuring, mean to them.

Medvedev says most of the material for his books is based on interviews with people who lived throughout the events, for the information that can be gained from official sources is rather paltry, and often the orders were not documented at the time. Medvedev expresses support for a memorial to the victims of Stalinism.

The interviewer asks Medvedev, "When, and for what precisely, were you expelled from the party?"

Medvedev responds, "I was expelled in 1969, for my book "Let History Judge," which at the time had not even appeared; it was just in manuscript form. I did not hide the fact that I had written this book, I even showed it to old Bolsheviks and writers. They already knew it in the Central Committee, too. Except that in 1969, they were preparing for Stalin's rehabilitation. The decision had been made to rehabilitate Stalin. They had even prepared the documents necessary for this, they had started a propaganda campaign in the press. I took a determined stand against this. As a retaliatory step, they expelled me from the party. They said it was because of this document.

"Luckily, Stalin was not rehabilitated after all. A few communist leaders intervened, among them Janos Kadar, Gomulka, Luigi Longo. They came to Moscow and said that because of this the unity of the communist movement might disintegrate. The CPSU Politburo was forced to back down, but they did not take me back into the party."

The interviewer asks, "Who signed the order of expulsion?"

Medvedev responds, "You know, the base organization did not even debate this, only the Frunze district party committee. After all, the gorkom confirmed it, and at the head of this was Grishin. The deciding word in my case was with Grishin, then, in 1969. Grishin gave a passionate and demagogic speech, and thereupon they expelled me from the party."

The antirestructuring letter from the Leningrad teacher which appeared in March in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA is recalled, showing there are still many conservative elements in the Soviet Union.

In the final part of the conversation, Medvedev speaks again about his brother in the West with whom he keeps in close contact, and says that his first real interest is and was philosophy rather than history. He says he is becoming better known in the Soviet Union, with articles being published, and also offers of publication for some of his works.

Economic

Constraints on Foreign Trade Analyzed

PM2909131788 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 22 Sep 88 p 4

[Article by Edvard Maksimovskiy under the rubric "Economic Accountability and the Foreign Market": "Dealers"]

[Excerpt] Vladivostok, Krasnodar, Moscow—[passage omitted] What do Europe and America pay us for mink pelts? Peanuts, several times less than a pelt costs in the country. Are merchants an extinct species in Russia? Selling at a loss, for a song.... So why are many state fur farms and agricultural combines bursting to get across the border, why are they increasing loss-making production?

What they are after is freely convertible currency: U.S. dollars, pounds sterling, West German marks, Swedish kronor.... Over there this currency will buy anything that is on sale. But our ruble can only get into the Western market in its gold form. You still cannot buy many types of machinery, equipment, or the latest technology with paper rubles. But our agriculture is in dire need of these items: it does not have its own producers of the same standard.

Yet the state is earning its own foreign currency, mostly on the basis of raw materials, which constituted more than 60 percent of exports in 1987. Gas, oil...but most agricultural enterprises do not have access to petrorubles. It should be borne in mind that raw material prices are highly volatile too. The value of all Soviet exports continues to fall. The tide of petrorubles has receded. You cannot reach it with the village bucket.

The Russian Gosagroprom's own resources are not overflowing either. Is it a lot—tens of millions of rubles in foreign currency per year? Only a few rubles and kopecks per worker. Per year! Ask Alla Pugacheva how much currency her foreign tours earn for the country. Of course, even if we all break into song, the gold in the coffers is not going to increase. Talent is needed. In trade, too.

It is the colonial method—using enormous masses of raw material to earn foreign currency. And what do we spend it on? Mainly on food: having taken it away, we give it back, on a plate.... Annually we import tens of millions of tonnes of grain. How much does that cost? R2 billion. For sugar—R3.2 billion. For livestock products—another billion plus. We even have "synthetic intestines" as an import item (foreign trade code 59102). They are usually measured in meters. We are importing 596.2 kilometers: the distance from Moscow to Leningrad. This sausage casing costs R18 million.

"Food flavorings and additives and raw materials for their production" cost more than R20 billion. Of course, some of them are indispensable.

Objectively speaking, import operations are a normal affair. And they can be profitable, given the proper approach. They are part of the international division of labor, in which both sides have the right to expect a profit. Economic science knows that national wealth grows in the course of judicious trade. Do we not know how to trade? It is truer to say that we are not yet doing it in earnest. We maintain a policy of self-isolation, which developed in the past as a result of the historical necessity to rely exclusively on our own resources. It seemed that the rapid rise of oil prices in the seventies would continue virtually ad infinitum too. We were wallowing in petrorubles...

Can we trade? Many of our industrial export items feel completely at ease in market conditions. Sometimes we even manage to apply pressure on the dictators of fashion. Estonian light industry, for example, has broken through in Japan, France, Italy, and the FRG...with finished products!

It is often cheaper to buy equipment than organize production at home. Today the RSFSR Gosagroprom would like to acquire 1,000 instruments to determine feed quality: a relatively small consignment. Is there any sense in starting from scratch when there is a firm that specializes in them and the specific experience has been accumulated? Particularly when it is prepared to conclude a deal on a noncurrency basis, taking liquid ammonia in exchange. The agro-industrial complex has stocks of it. This example was cited by V. Sheremetev, chief of the Gosagroprom Foreign Relations Administration.

Last year protocols were signed with 9 firms from capitalist countries declaring intentions to set up 12 joint enterprises on USSR territory. I will name a few of them: the Swiss firm Hopf, which processes fur pelts and makes fur articles, the Austrian firm Khayd [as transliterated], which produces metal-cutting machine tools and equipment for seed-cleaning and mixed feed plants, the Swedish firm Tetra Pak, which makes packaging for fruit juices and other fruit and vegetable products, and the Canadian firm Western Breeders, involved in pedigree livestock raising.

V. Sheremetev introduced me to Doctor Paul Miller, managing director of the Scottish firm "Britbreed Ltd." It is involved in setting up in Altay Kray an enterprise capable of sharply improving animal productivity. It is an example of the international pooling of capital and ideas. The firm contributes 49 percent of the authorized capital—20,000 pounds sterling. Not a lot, but it is a start: Altay goats have caused a sensation in Scotland. Paul showed me a newspaper with an article about it and a photograph.

What does the Soviet side get? A modern breeding center with the latest apparatus and advanced technology.

"We will help raise the milk yields of Altay dairy cattle," Dr Miller said. "Some 8,000-9,000 kg per year. In time we will also be looking beyond the 10,000 mark. Not bad, eh?"

I agreed. Not bad. But I gently pointed out that in the States there is nothing remarkable about yields in excess of 13,000.

Business is a mentality not a profession. Businessmen make for the market like a diver making for the surface. Why does a foreign firm conduct free of charge in Kalinin Oblast an experiment in destroying couch grass with herbicides? Publicity. But also to show the agro-industrial committee the latest flax growing technology. Let us not forget that, we also import flax from abroad. The firm is aware of this.

The U.S. firm "Murman MNF" [name as transliterated] found an original way of breaking into the Soviet market. The firm decided to join our public in combatting bureacracy in the USSR. The reason for this was that a number of experts doubted whether a deal with the firm would be profitable. Sheremetev admires the chutzpah of the "Murman MNF" chief who even managed to involve the experts of the "What? Where? When?" club in his actions. With television exposure in mind, of course. Well, the guys, not realizing what was happening, embarked on a lengthy debate, thus enhancing the resourceful merchant's reputation.

Three major international associations have been set up within the CEMA framework. Bulgarian and Cuban selection workers have started creating new corn hybrids. The "Stavropolskoye" broiler association has entered into collaboration with the "Babolna" combine in Hungary. The all-Hungarian state farms' association has sent a commercial team to Kabardino-Balkaria to work on corn selection.

V. Sheremetev stressed that contacts with the CEMA countries are a priority for the RSFSR Gosagroprom. Over 250 agreements have been concluded so far.

But there are two problems whose very existence is worrying. The long and anxiously awaited internal competition has manifested itself in a strange way. The very promising plan for the "Abrau-Dyurso" [name as transliterated] international agricultural firm met with sharp resistance from the all-union "Soyuzplodoimport" association: Similar product, isn't it? The plan was put on ice. Competition remains in its infancy.

The RSFSR Gosagroprom continues to surprise its foreign partners. Firms from capitalist countries invite Soviet specialists to talks on setting up joint enterprises, but they get tired of waiting. The giant Russian Gosagroprom is incapable of solving the trivial question of authorization. There are endless consultations. Why? Are they picking petals off a daisy—"they will run away—they will not run away"? They will not run away.

There have been very considerable changes in the foreign trade structure of the country's Gosagroprom. But even now no one would claim that a reasonable working arrangement has been found. West European, Asian, and American business is sending us more and more entrepreneurs. There have been 6,000 meetings at the Foreign Relations Administration in the past year. By no means all have been fruitful. It is the dream of many visitors to enter a USSR domestic market which pays in a freely convertible currency. I don't think that will ever come to pass here.

Indeed, low labor productivity and obsolete techniques and equipment are still forcing us to sell furs and other products at a loss. Using petrorubles—at the expense of our descendants—is not the best strategy either. It is forced upon us by the tight food situation in the country. Some 29 oblasts have introduced coupons for the most valuable types of products and another 32 oblasts are using them for some of these products. Switching billions in foreign currency into our agriculture, for the acquisition of machinery, equipment, and technology—isn't that the path we should be taking?

The ossified system of currency relations between the CEMA countries is diminishing the economy's potential. But there are signs of movement here. An agreement was recently concluded between the USSR and Czechoslovakia on the use of national currencies when paying one another. The ruble and koruna are now mutually convertible. They are considering doing the same for the ruble and Bulgarian currency. It is a start. The convertibility of CEMA countries' currencies will strengthen the socialist market's positions in the world economy. This process could have begun far earlier... It has been delayed and it has faltered.

But serious contacts are now being established between CEMA and the Common Market. The currencies of West and East, bowing to the interests of trade, are gravitating toward mutual convertibility. Specialists believe this will occur in the late nineties.

It is not only economically, but also historically expedient. A single world market paves the way to a single world economy. A world populated by commercial dealers is safer than a world of soldiers.

Plan, Budget Commissions Debate Price Hikes

PM3009084588 Moscow TRUD in Russian
29 Sep 88 p 2

[V. Golovachev article under the rubric "Topical Economic Problems": "Why Prices Are Rising: USSR Supreme Soviet Deputies Discuss a Question of Concern to All"]

[Text] In the Kremlin, in the austere white marble hall where the chambers hold their sessions, where each deputy's surname is permanently displayed next to his chair, there were intense debates recently on a most acute question—one which perhaps causes the majority of disputes, emotion, and debate—the rise in prices. It was a working session of the deputies of the preparatory commissions on the main plan and budget indicators. In preparing for the approaching session, the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies examined in good time the draft plan and budget for the coming year, and the progress toward fulfilling them this year.

The agenda covered a quite precise range of questions: "On measures to avert the trend toward the raising of prices at a rate exceeding the increase in the consumer characteristics and quality of goods as well as violations of state discipline in the use of prices." However, the discussion went beyond that framework and touched on problems of the upcoming price reform, and much more besides.

The honest and frank discussion in the spirit of new approaches and glasnost did not skirt "awkward questions." For a long time we kept silent about the alarming processes occurring in the economy here. Official statistics, for example, tried to convince people that retail prices are always stable and are even falling. There is no inflation here, in the planned economy, nor can there be.... But it was difficult to believe those claims, because everyday experience showed the opposite. And each of us can see that clearly. The attempts to hush up the rise in prices only forced the disease below the surface, and aroused an adverse reaction among the population.

Times are different now—we are learning how to talk about complex matters plainly and openly, even though this still doesn't always happen. The report of I.I. Gorbachev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Prices, and the speeches by deputies and representatives of ministries and departments spoke absolutely plainly about the rise in prices in our country. Retail prices, for example, continued to rise 2 years ago, 1 year ago, and this year, too.... Potatoes, for instance, rose by an average of 11 percent in the last 2 years and vegetables rose by 12 percent. But the actual average retail prices for bread and bakery products rose most of all—by 18 percent. Other goods became more expensive, too: hosiery has risen 15 percent, television sets 15 percent, refrigerators 9 percent....

This list could go on a very long time. Today, for example, it is difficult to find a cheap men's suit in the stores. The reason is that in trade the proportion of suits costing around R70 has fallen from 6 percent in 1981 (even then that was a paltry figure) to 2 percent last year. In other words, it is almost impossible to find such suits in the shops. It is the same picture for many other consumer goods. What do pensioners, students, and low-income families do? After all, 43 million people here have a per capita income of around R75 a month. How are they supposed to eat, clothe themselves, and make ends meet when things are constantly getting dearer?

The rise in average retail prices takes place in various ways. First, via the "N" index (so-called "new" products), by "eroding" cheap goods (that is, the production of cheap goods is reduced and production of expensive ones increased). Second, in the sphere of cooperative activity. Third, by using contract prices, which are acquiring increasing importance. The plan is that they should stimulate an increase in production of output. But in fact, what you get is not a contract with the customer but, as the people aptly put it, a "deal" between the enterprise and trade. The customer plays no part in this and can only lose out. Finally, the right to set prices at the local level for many types of agricultural produce also leads to an increase in prices, too....

Such, in brief, are the conclusions the deputies reached. In certain circumstances, of course, it is quite legitimate to raise prices—when goods of a higher quality appear. But even then, cheap goods should not disappear. The most important point is that in most cases prices rise but the consumer characteristics of the goods do not rise accordingly.

The rise in the average retail prices for television sets was due, the session said, to an increase in the production of color sets. But there was a snag here—the color sets are unreliable and often break down. And so much has been written about them igniting spontaneously, catching fire, and exploding....

Deputies studied the situation involving the rise in prices for bread and bakery products with particular attention. At first it seemed that the question was not very complex. But during examination some unexpected aspects appeared, and the veil was lifted on things that the sector's workers were trying assiduously to hide. Remember how at the end of 1986, when a decision was made to produce new types of bread, the leaders of the USSR Ministry of of Grain Products explained to us: "The bread will be tastier and contain more calories thanks to the wider use of dairy products and enriching agents. It is planned to produce six new types of product using improved recipes. We shall be selling white bread baked in cans and bread baked on trays—they are lighter, with the ideal combination of moisture and salt and an increased proportion of yeast. Their protein content will be 5-7 percent higher.... The price of bread baked using the traditional recipe will not change, of course. However, the quality will improve: the moisture and salt content will be reduced...."

That extract comes from an article in a central newspaper. But what actually happened? Bread prices rose, whereas the quality not only did not improve but in many cases fell. That is demonstrated by the host of complaints from consumers. The bread quickly becomes stale, goes moldy, is less tasty, and you even find unbaked dough....

Why is this happening? Coincidence? But the mass of complaints indicate that such cases are widespread.... How does all this square with the much- publicized promises of the ministry's leaders?

Some light was shed on the matter by R.A. Fedorov, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Grain Products Main Economic Administration, who addressed the deputies:

"In 1986 most bread products were sold at a loss, or at a small profit. Wages for workers in the bakery industry lagged considerably behind the level achieved in other sectors, with similar production conditions. The sector was losing skilled workers and its technical base was in an unsatisfactory state. The question was asked: How can this problem be solved? Now everyone who agreed to the introduction of the six new popular types of bread at increased retail prices considers that this should not have been done; other paths should have been taken. We, too, have come to that conclusion now, but what's done is done...."

It was clear from Comrade Fedorov's subsequent explanations that the sector was not even capable of producing ordinary bread of better quality.

"Only now has it become clear," he reported, as though surprised himself, "that reducing the amount of added water makes processing much more difficult. The sector wasn't ready for that...."

What is the result? Without carrying out the necessary research or preparation they raised prices, in order to get their financial affairs straight, raise wages, and reequip the bakeries. But in that case what was the point of all those much-publicized promises about the new "tastier and healthier loaf," if the sector was not even ready to produce it? I think it is clear to everyone whose interests this smokescreen served....

The sector's workers have much to say about the loss-making or low profitability of their enterprises. But here is a fact cited earlier in the press. Last year personnel costs at bakery enterprises under the Moldavian SSR Ministry of Grain Products increased by no less than R1,235,000. This is where the money goes. Furthermore, not only has the situation regarding bread quality not improved but the quantity of rejected output has actually increased. This fact offers food for serious thought....

Deputies were seriously perturbed by the fact that the quality of many other foodstuffs is also deteriorating. This applies, for example, to sausage, pasta, and dairy products, refined sunflower oil, and fruit and vegetable products. All this is having an effect on our standards of living.

"Increased average retail prices accounted for an increase of R4.4 billion in the population's expenditure on foodstuffs last year compared with 1985," stressed

O.P. Bogdashin, chief of the USSR Ministry of Trade Prices Department. "This trend is extremely unfavorable. It is also typical of industrial goods."

The gravity of the situation is confirmed by data cited at the session by Doctor of Economic Sciences A.A. Deryabin, chief of sector at the USSR Academy of Sciences Economic Institute: "According to our calculations, today we are left with only 42 kopeks out of every R1 in 1960...."

Those present listened attentively to the speech by USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy V.R. Liyva, leader of a team of turners at the excavator plant of Tallinn's "Talleks" Production Association, named for the 50th Anniversary of the USSR.

"The problem of prices," he said, "is very painful and complex. It affects those who produce the output, and the vital interests of each and every one of us, the consumers; it hits our purses hard, and has actually got those on low incomes by the throat, as it were. Newspapers and the airwaves have recently been really overflowing with reflections and comment in connection with the impending reform of price formation. The arguments between titled academicians and professors, between candidates of science and 'non-graduate' economists, are enough to drive us dilettantes crazy. But life has to a certain extent made philosophers of us all. And we think that the truth lies somewhere between the extreme views. We hope that the State Committee for Prices will find the golden mean in all this diversity of opinions. Today we are talking more about a planned future review of prices, but it is a fact that there have been unpublicized increases in the prices for many commodities, and that this has been going on for a long time now. Primarily prices of consumer goods."

Price increases accounted for 60 percent of commodity turnover growth in 1986-1987, while the physical commodity turnover per capita (in terms of specific articles, items, or meters) grew only 0.7 percent last year.

"We all express our indignation," the Tallinn worker went on, "we adopt resolutions and 'put pressure' on the conscience of negligent producers, but we are no longer in a position to solve anything by the old administrative measures. Therefore, since this is an economic problem, it must be solved by economic levers. This is something for the USSR State Committee for Prices to ponder. Increased prices reflect not only socially necessary expenditure but also expenditure necessitated by economic mismanagement and wastefulness. This situation, whereby the consumer is forced to pay for the producer's economic mismanagement, can obviously be described as nothing but passing the buck. Of course, we workers are not in a position to make an authoritative judgment on all problems of price formation, but even we can sense—instinctively, as it were—that so far the price formation mechanism has not functioned properly.... Price rises are on the way to becoming a steeply rising, vicious spiral. This is why we deputies, on instructions from our voters, not only ask but, by virtue of the power vested in us, instruct the USSR State Committee for Prices to thoroughly work out the price formation mechanism, incorporate this into the documents now being prepared on the management of price formation under the conditions of the new economic mechanism, and submit the draft for nationwide discussion. It is necessary to have faith in the people's common sense."

During the session deputies examined various factors contributing toward price increases. Strangely enough, however, one got the impression at times that not only was the issue not becoming any clearer, it was actually getting even more confused. Every representative of a ministry or a department blamed other sectors, and it seemed as if the chain was never-ending. For example, why is there a significant increase in the prime costs of agricultural products? Because, in particular, agricultural machines, fertilizers, and so on have become more expensive. Agricultural machines, in their turn, are more expensive because of the higher costs of plant equipment, machine tools, and raw materials. Machine tools increased in price because materials, electronic equipment, electricity, and fuel are more expensive. And fuel and energy resources are more expensive because it is necessary to travel even further away, into unexplored regions, to find them, and the price of extraction technology and pipes has risen. This, in its turn, was caused by more expensive plant equipment and fuel.... The circle has closed. Attention was drawn to this by session chairman Deputy V.A. Protsenko and other deputies, who demanded a self-critical and constructive approach toward the examination of these important problems.

Representatives of various ministries and departments cited a mass of figures, calculations, and proof. For some unknown reason, however, nobody mentioned untapped internal sector reserves, losses, miscalculations, economic mismanagement, defective output.... Yet during the 1st 6 months alone, industry lost about 3.5 million man-days through absenteeism, while the construction industry lost 1.17 million. The value of output finally rejected because of substandard quality since the start of the year amounts to R54 million. Vast sums of money (TRUD has already reported this) are tied up in obsolete imported equipment which has been lying around in warehouses for a long time.... What country can withstand such economic blows? We are withstanding them, but at what cost!

Of course, these are not the only causes of rising prices. But there can be no argument that these losses are placing a heavy burden on the economy. It is a great pity that the representatives of ministries and departments who were invited to the session diligently avoided these questions, striving to shift all the blame for rising prices onto others, giving "objective" reasons, and failing to demonstrate genuine principledness and civic-mindedness.

Nonetheless, this examination by the deputies of the most acute question of rising prices was very useful. Recommendations were prepared for taking not only economic but also a series of administrative measures to overcome the trend toward unjustified price rises, and to intensify state monitoring and develop public monitoring of prices. Appropriate suggestions will be submitted to the Plan and Budget Commissions and other standing commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities.

One thing is clear: We cannot sit back and watch the growing trend toward unjustified price rises. Immediate measures are necessary to improve the state of the economy.

Scientific

Nuclear Power Unit Separates From 'Cosmos-1900'

LD0110150488 Moscow TASS in English 1337 GMT 1 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 1 TASS—The radiation safety system automatically operated today at 00 hours 08 minutes Moscow time aboard Cosmos-1900 satellite, carrying a nuclear power unit on board, which was launched in the Soviet Union on December 12, 1987. The reactor was shut off, the nuclear power unit separated from the satellite and settled into a stable orbit of approximately 720 kilometres with a guarantee of reducing radioactivity to safe level. The remaining part of the satellite (instrument compartment), which will shortly burn up in the dense layers of the atmosphere, poses no radiation danger.

Amount of Spending on Space Program Questioned

LD0210155688 Moscow World Service in English 0310 GMT 2 Oct 88

[Text] And now Sergey Vorobyev will tell us how the restructuring has prompted this country to have a fresh look at the economy of space exploration.

[Vorobyev] For a long time the Soviet space exploration program was a zone closed to criticism, at least within the country. Achievements were extolled, but shortcomings seemed nonexistent. All systems, papers said, worked without a hitch. Wishful thinking. Problems have been piling up in space exploration, too. Take the cost accounting of research. The government invests heavily in space technology. At this point it's probably impossible to meet all the expenses involved, but where the effort assumes a purely applied character economic laws, too, must get action.

The booster rockets to orbit a craft cost from 2 to 3 million rubles. Each manned flight, with a great many instruments on board, cost from 7 to 8 million. Add to that the funds involved in running the many ground- and sea-based and floating tracking stations, air facilities, and ground control. The launch proper costs about 10 million and the unique monitoring equipment costs much, much more. See how much it all costs?

But space exploration began a little more than 3 decades ago. Isn't it too early to expect it to start bringing benefits? And how important is it to raise the question now? Let's listen to a veteran cosmonaut Oleg Makarov, who has been on four space flights.

[Makarov, in Russian fading into English translation] I believe it's a far-reaching question. We've been gaining small benefit from space exploration. We've been experimenting for too long. But we can already capitalize heavily on space exploration. The "Mir" station, for one, is fairly well-equipped for this purpose. I am convinced the time is ripe to count money in earnest. The restructuring emphasizes cost accounting, but cost accounting has not yet been introduced at the space exploration. We supply the data we get from orbit to various agencies, including the environment center, for them to distribute the data further. But those who develop and run space vehicles receive no material incentive from the agencies using the data. So I believe effective economic levers must be introduced. This could only improve the work.

The Soviet Union favors broader international cooperation to explore space for peaceful purposes. Until now partners have compensated only some of the Soviet Union's spending by making on-board instruments. But evidently they didn't meet the whole of the cost of international manned flights, 14 all told. The experts, both Soviet and foreign, agree money has to be counted more carefully. When it comes to commercial relations, and the Soviet Union intends to introduce them into joint manned flights, one cosmonaut's flight, lasting 8 to 10 days, is worth about 10 million dollars.

Until recently we were trying to look for priorities for Soviet science and engineering where they could simply not exist. But the time has come for us to have a sober look. The Soviet space exploration program's priorities are long-duration flights aboard orbital stations, interplanetary vehicles, and the superpowerful booster rocket Energiya. Soviet experts pin great hopes on the Energiya, a rocket to serve science and the national economy.

New Research Station in East Arctic Sector

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[Text] This country intends to set up a new scientific research station in the eastern Arctic sector. Polar explorers will be delivered by the ship "Vladimir Arsenyev," assisted by a powerful icebreaker. Vasiliy Sidorov, who's in charge of the station, has reported that an appropriate ice floe is being searched for by aircraft. The explorers will do weather forecasting in polar areas and will carry out geological research on the seabed.

Military

Interethnic Relations in Armed Forces Viewed

PM3009152588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Sep 88 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Cultivate Internationalists"]

[Text] Army and navy service has long been a school of expertise, courage, and discipline. The resolution "On Interethnic Relations" approved at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference particularly highlights another facet of military service: It must also be a real school of internationalism. In this connection there must be a radical restructuring of the political, organizational, and ideological work performed by military cadres and party and Komsomol organizations in terms of the international education of personnel.

This work must focus on elucidating the essence of our Leninist national policy and the need to constantly strengthen the international unity of working people from all of the Soviet Union's nations and ethnic groups. It must also focus on shaping in Soviet servicemen patriotic and international conviction, a great sense of pride in our multiethnic motherland, and a readiness to defend it. This work must aim to further unite military collectives, enhance their professional activeness, and establish true friendship, fraternity, and comradeship among servicemen of different nationalities in the army and navy.

The experience of progressive subunits, units, and ships confirms that the international education of personnel in multiethnic collectives is very effective when it is organically linked with work to solve the tasks of combat readiness and with army and navy practice, and is enriched with new approaches and forms of influence. Here is an example: In the unit where Major A. Nemalkin is the political worker (Transbaykal Military District), they highlight two interconnected aspects in the organization of international education—specific political education work and concern for improving social conditions. They take account of the fact that men of more than 20 different nationalities serve in the unit. They are rationally distributed among the collectives. Everyone, irrespective of nationality or official position, is guaranteed the principle of an equal approach according to regulations. Duly considered Russian-language instruction is provided for servicemen with a poor knowledge of the language, which has great significance for their mastery of military matters and for acquainting them with spiritual and cultural values.

An important place in the army and navy today is given to eliciting and studying military servicemen's national interests, generalizing and spreading progressive experience in international education, and drawing up proposals and recommendations for commanding officers and political bodies to enhance the effectiveness of this work. To this end, commissions for interethnic relations are being set up under the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy and the political directorates of the different branches of the Armed Forces, the military districts, and the groups of forces and fleets, while groups responsible for interethnic relations are being formed under the political bodies of formations and units and under party committees (bureaus).

When we talk about the need to update and improve the forms and methods of mass political, individual educational, party, and Komsomol work, this means that it must definitely take account of the multiethnic nature of subunits, units, and ships, military training establishments, institutions, and enterprises. Knowledge of the individual attitudes of military servicemen of different nationalities and the cultivation of great patriotic feeling in military collectives are becoming particularly important. There must be no place in the Army and Navy for cases of injustice and infringement of national dignity, national egoism, or arrogance arising on the basis of so-called regional cliques and entailing nonregulation relationships. Restructuring, democratization, and glasnost in the Army and Navy have brought these facts to light and at the same time created the necessary conditions to democratically overcome them.

Clearly, all this requires commanding officers, political bodies, party committees, and Komsomol committees to seek highly effective, largely new, and interesting forms of international education which spiritually enrich people and draw them closer together. These include meetings with military servicemen of different nationalities in military councils, political bodies, party committees, and Komsomol committees, bringing new recruits from the union and autonomous republics, okrugs, and oblasts into contact with soldiers and sergeants of these nationalities, holding 10-day festivals of union and autonomous republics and celebrating the days of their formation, and regularly exchanging delegations between the working people of the republics, krays, and oblasts and the personnel of units, ships, and formations.

Success in work concerning international education primarily depends on the level of military cadres' political, ideological, and party maturity and professional competence. The political work they do to unite multiethnic subunits, units, and ships, and military VUZ's, establishments, and enterprises should be regarded as a school of international education for the leaders themselves. Officers, warrant officers, and ensigns must set an example of interethnic communication and show deep respect for the national feelings and traditions of the Soviet peoples.

One of the most important tasks is to cultivate in command and political cadres the expertise and ability to work in multiethnic military collectives. It is planned to include theoretical seminars in the training of commanding officers, while Marxist-Leninist instruction

groups and political instruction for warrant officers and ensigns are to incorporate special talks and seminars on the problems of interethnic relations and the practice of international education.

Every commanding officer and political worker must study and have a good knowledge of the traditions and customs of the nations and ethnic groups whose emissaries serve in his unit, ship, or subunit. This knowledge must be put to active use in political education work with servicemen. Efforts by officers, warrant officers, and members of their families to learn the language spoken by the people in the union republic in whose territory their unit or subunit is stationed deserve every encouragement.

The work of military commissariats to select young people of the union republics' indigenous nationalities for military school training must be further improved. Stronger collaboration between military commissariats, military VUZ's, and local party and soviet bodies will help the successful solution of this problem. A thoroughly considered, substantiated system of studying CPSU national policy, up-to-date scientific and theoretical study of the problems of interethnic relations, and arming of students and trainees with effective forms and methods of international education must be an inalienable part of military cadre training in VUZ's.

Now, at the new stage of restructuring, it is important to broadly propagandize the progressive experience of commanding officers and party and Komsomol organizations in uniting multiethnic military collectives, and to publicize how servicemen of different nationalities are successful in mastering military matters and fulfilling their service duty. This is a very important task for the mass media and cultural education establishments. The systematic publication of material on the development of the economy and culture of the union republics and the traditions and customs of the Soviet peoples deserves attention. Collective and individual subscription to the newspapers and journals of the union and autonomous republics, oblasts, and okrugs should be given greater consideration in units and ships.

Officials Sign Reserve Admiral's Obituary

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[Obituary of V.P. Maslov]

[Excerpts] Admiral of the Reserve Vladimir Petrovich Maslov, a veteran of the Great Patriotic War, has died after a prolonged illness. [passage omitted]

D.T. Yazov, S.F. Akhromeyev, V.G. Kulikov, P.G. Lushev, A.D. Lizichev, Yu.P. Maksimov, Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, I.M. Tretyak, A.N. Yefimov, V.N. Chernavin, M.I. Sorokin, V.M. Arkhipov, V.M. Shabanov, N.F. Shestopalov, V.L. Govorov, D.S. Sukhorukov, A.I. Sorokin, V.I. Panin, I.M. Kapitanets, K.V. Makarov, V.V. Zaytsev, F.I. Novoselov, V.V. Sidorov, V.P. Potapov, N.I. Smirnov, N.D. Sergeyev, N.I. Khovrin, G.A. Khvatov, A.M. Slavskiy, V.M. Grishanov, L.A. Matushkin.